This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

+ *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.

+ *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.

+ *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.

+ *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

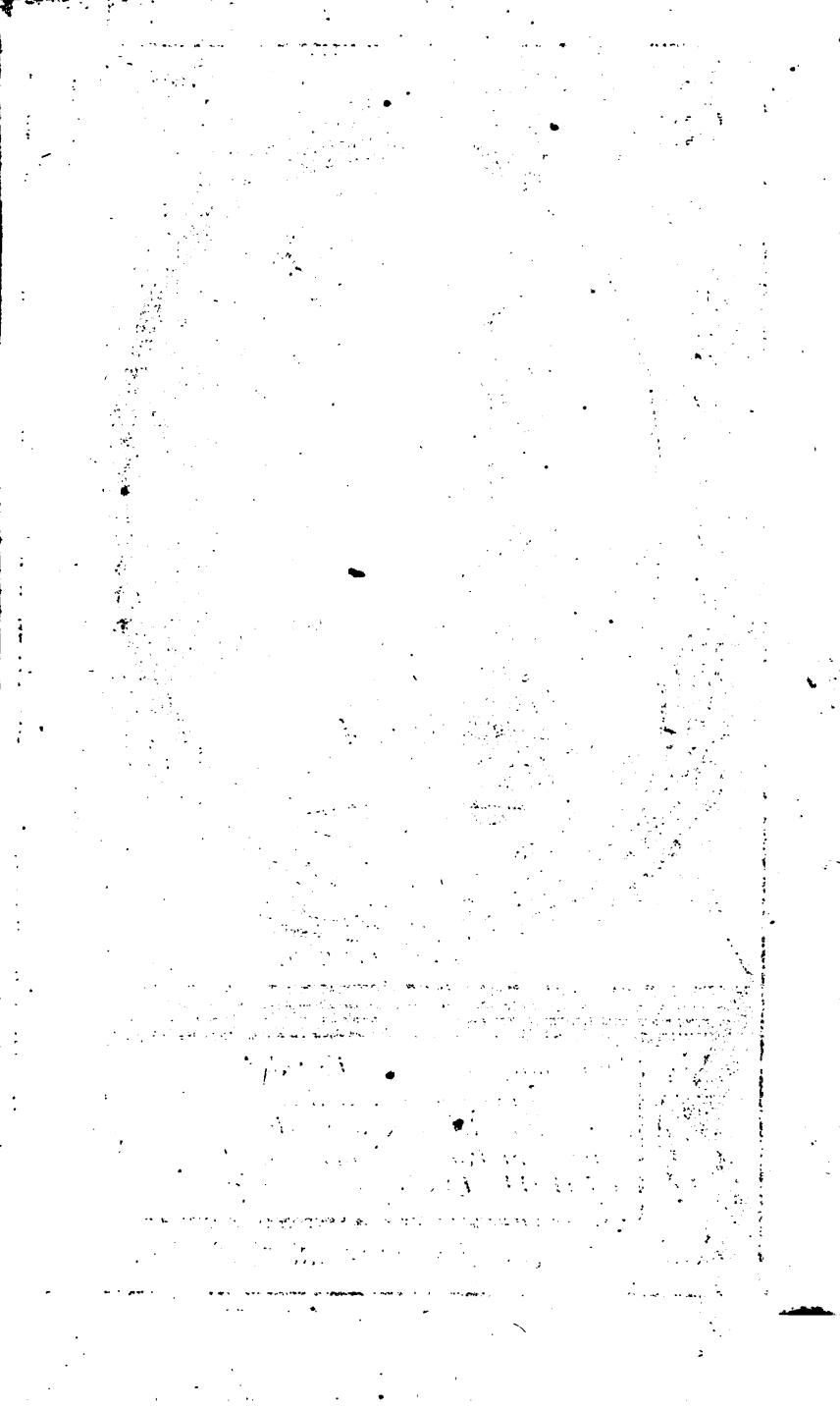
About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at `http://books.google.com/`

CONFINED TO THE LIBRARY.

27377

XE 179 SPE



E MS. in Bibl. Bodl.
Thou ſhalt raiſe up the Foundations of many Generations; and thou ſhalt be called, the Repairer of the Breach, the Reſtorer of Paths to dwell in.
ISAIAH LVIII. 12.
MBurg. delin. et ſculp.

THE LIFE OF ÆLFRED THE GREAT,

By Sir JOHN SPELMAN Kt.

FROM THE

Original Manuſcript in the BODLEJAN *Library:*

WITH

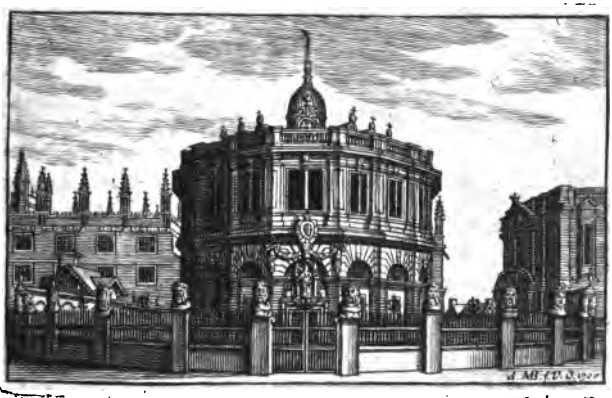
CONSIDERABLE ADDITIONS,

And

SEVERAL HISTORICAL REMARKS,

By the Publiſher

THOMAS HEARNE, M.A.



OXFORD,

Printed at the THEATER for *Maurice Atkins* at the *Golden-Ball* in St *Paul's* Church-Yard, *Lond.* MDCCIX.

Imprimatur,

GUIL. LANCASTER,

VICE-CAN. OXON.

March 5, 1709.

TO THE PRINCE.

SIR,

I *Here preſent unto* YOUR HIGHNESS *a Repaired Image of one of* YOUR *Anceſtors. Not according to the perfect Life and Beauty: for it was never ſo well taken. Nor is it*

one, that to the beſt Advantage renders what thoſe Traces of his Pourtraict (which to this Day preſerve his Reſemblance to us) do ſeem they ſhould expreſs. For they having for the moſt part been the accidental Touches of divers Hands, and never put together before, they have neither been able to ſave themſelves intire from the Violence of Time; neither does that, which remains of them, hold one and the ſame Air of Expreſſion. So the Pieces we have being mangled, and wanting the Joints and Edges wherewith they ſhould agree among themſelves, they ſeem rather the Rubbiſh of a Broken Statue, than the whole Parts of a Perfect Image. But, SIR, *he was of that Merit, that even the Duſt of his Feet was not unworthy the Collecting, nor did the moſt Venerable of all the* Romans *Aſhes deſerve a more ſacred Urn.*

In Repreſentations by Picture, though the outward Lineaments of the Feature be exactly hit, yet is there ever ſome Fail in the Expreſſion of the Life

it

it self; because the Pencil, following the Exterior, can go no further than that is able to carry it. And the same Defect is always in History, especially when, for want of Discovery of the Reasons and Affections, whereupon the Things and Actions moved, the bare done Deed represents not the Spirit nor Genius that was the Powerfull Agent in them. This, SIR, *has been the unhappy Fortune of this* YOUR *Glorious Ancestor, and by it his Name has undeservedly suffered a Loss not to be recovered. But,* SIR, *while I present* YOUR HIGHNESS *with an Object apt to move a pious Indignation in* YOU, *for that it so meanly expresses the Virtues of so Glorious an Ancestor,* YOUR HIGHNESS (*who deriving from him in Bloud derive with all a Genuine Capacity of all Royall Endowments*) *shall one Day from hence take Incitement, by an happy Imitation of his Virtues, to represent unto the World a more lively Figure of Him than by any other can be given.*

GOD

The Author's Dedication.

GOD *give* YOUR HIGHNESS *in Merit and Glory to exceed the Line of all* YOUR *Famous Anceſtors.*

Ælfred

Ælfred the Great,

First Founder of the *English* MONARCHY.

Book I.

Containing His Wars and Troublesome Reign.

1. IF I had taken in hand to have writ the particular Reign of any of our Kings since the full Growth and Consistence of the Crown, I should have needed no more than immediately from the Death of the Predecessor to have pursued the Actions of the Successor. The general Knowledge of the Story of those Times, and the little difference of any of them from the Times immediately going before, were Aim enough to mind the Reader what he should expect. But being now to collect the life of a King long since out of mind, and, as I must say, the First of our Kings, and consequently the Birth of the Kingdom too; and to relate the Carriage of Things in an Age much different from the present, and not particularly enough delivered to us: it cannot be less than necessary for the Work it self that we a little cast our Eye upon the condition of those Times so long before past'd: seeing that in a Course never so little out of the Common tract the Apprehension is very easily misled, unless that by the Help of some Light (although but small and general) it be in some measure rectify'd. Withal, the Expectation of the Reader would, for his own better

 satis-

satisfaction, be somewhat prepared, least, fancying to himself another Manner of Frame and Carriage of things than indeed those Times could bear, he reject the Knowledge of the Actions then in hand; for that they were not of that Nature, nor managed in the Garbe, that he looked for, and so, unsatisfy'd in his Fancy, loose the benefit his Judgment might otherwise perhaps have made in Knowing them.

2. Therefore we must not expect such a solemn and steddy manage of Affairs then, as now in a full grown state, furnished with the ministery of all her necessary Members: neither must we attribute so little to the Person of *Ælfred* (the Prince whose life we here endeavour to collect) as to judge the Actions no otherwise his, than as the Actions of States are ordinarily ascribed to the Prince their Head. Besides we must know that the War it self (which at this time was the whole Affair) moved not on either side with that Design, nor yet with so deliberate Advice, as at this Day (we know) it is necessary that it must do. The [1] Policies and Cunning of the former Ages were, through the Barbarism that generally overran all *Europe*, long before this time buried. And though by the Benefit of Letters they have been again revived to us, yet were they but little known, until the Discovery of Printing (long time after this) divulged them. So as the World (at the time we speak of) was from her own Actions to get again Experience, whence for after Ages she might draw Conclusions to hold as Rules and Principles of her Proceedings; but unfurnished of them for the present, their Business went an open and a simple way: in which as

1 Tho', through Barbarism, the Policies of former Ages were unknown at this Time; yet the *Saxons* us'd a great deal of Art in their Wars, as appears from the Relations given by *Witichind* [*Annal. Saxon.* pag. 1. Ed. *Franc.* MDCXXI. fol.] and several other Authors: which seem the rather to be credited, because the *German* Nation (of which the *Saxons* were a Part) was never wholly conquer'd by the *Romans*, as were *Gallia*, *Spain*, &c.

necessity

Neceſſity (for the moſt part) did adviſe them, ſo fortune generally did determine of the Event.

3. Here was as then but little Correſpondence with Forreign Parts, indeed no great Intelligence of either them or their Affairs; whereby it often happened that an unexpected Enemy was encountred by an unprepared People, infinite Numbers were to be reſiſted by a few and them taken on a ſudden, continual new Supplies of Aſſailants, ſuſtained by the indefatigable Valour and Induſtry of the ſame Defendants, not otherwiſe provided than Neceſſity and the preſent Advice of the Commander taught them. To ſay the truth, it cannot properly be termed a War, but rather a continual and univerſal Rage of Miſery that the times brought forth, through the Spoil and Rapine of a barbarous and cruel People, who, being as deſtitute of Faith and Honour as of Humanity and Religion, followed no other Rule of their Proceeding, than as their licentious Appetite did lead them; naturally falſe and fierce, bred in Hardneſs, and put upon Neceſſities, unſatiably greedy of the Booty that was before them, and accordingly their Aſſaults every where, and the continuance of them (at leaſt in expectation) perpetual. No Truce, no Peace, (the common Reſpits or Periods of an Honourable War) but only when an overthrow had rendred them too weak without new Supplies to aſſail, or when a proſperous Depredation had a while delaied the Appetite of their inſatiable Covetouſneſs. And then although (as to the Form) they often came unto the Concluſion of a Peace, yet were they but Peaces in name and not in deed, the barbarous Enemy never ſuffering himſelf in any thing to be reſtrain'd, but by the want of preſent Will or Power.

4. Now we muſt know that of five great Plagues or Scourges, wherewith they remember this Iſland to have been afflicted, that is to ſay the *Romans*, *Picts* and *Scots*, *Saxons*, *Danes*, and *Normans*, this of the *Danes* (with whom our *Elfred* had ſo much to do) is judged to have been beyond Compariſon the moſt miſerable. In

truth that of the *Romans* had more of Benefit than of Calamity in it. The *Britains* (we may imagine) were then in the loweſt Declenſion of corrupted Nature, captivate Slaves of all vile Affections, mutually practiſing and ſuffering in them. It pleaſed God in them, as well as in other Nations, firſt to make Trial how the Light of Reaſon (which the *Romans* in great meaſure brought them) would work upon their Hearts for reclaiming them from ſo groſs and ſavage Barbariſm. And though that Light was not introduced without War and Bloudſhed, yet was it more tolerable than that inteſtine War which it diverted. As for the ſubjection that followed the *Britains* overthrow, it was not (of a long time) very grievous in it ſelf, and when it was, it was recompenſed with Peace, Civility, and Letters: until ſuch time, as that the Divine Juſtice (after the fulneſs of long Suffering and Patience) began to enter into Judgment with either Nation, for [1]not conforming themſelves to the Rule of Light they had, nor glorifying him in that

1 This ought rather to be attributed to the Contempt of the *Chriſtian* Religion, and the Perſecution of the Profeſſors thereof; it having been Planted in *Britain*, (and the greateſt Part of the *Roman* Empire) long before the Arrival of the *Saxons*. And that the *Chriſtians* were not more ſecure here than in any other Place, appears particularly from the tenth General Perſecution, wherein ſuch a Prodigious Number periſhed in this Iſland under *Maximian*, who was reſolved to be as cruel in the Weſt as *Diocletian* was in the Eaſt; an Account whereof *Robert of Gloceſter* has left us [MS. in Bibl. Bodl. *Digb.* ccv. fol. 34. b.] in theſe old Rymes:

Two Emperours were of Rome. that one higt Dioclician
And another his felawe. that higt Maximian
Thei weren bothe at one tyme. the one in the Eſt ende
And the other in the Weſt half. Criſtendom to ſchende
For the luther Maximian. Weſtwarde hider ſougt
And Criſten men that he fonde. to luther deth he brougt
Chirches he feld adon. that none ne mygt ſtonde
And alle the Bokes that he fonde. owher in eny londe
He wolde hem late brenne. amydde the heige ſtrete
And Criſten men alle ſle. and none on lyve lete
Sithe God was brenne. ther ne was for Criſtendom
In ſo litel aſtounde ydo. ſo gret Martirdom

that degree that they had knowledge of him. And then the *Roman* Empire soon finding the Approach of her fatal Ruin, (like as in a violent Oppression of the Heart, the Spirits, drawn from all the parts of the Body, leave them destitute to go and succour it, but not prevailing perish there together, so the *Roman* Empire in desperate Sowndings and Distractions labouring now for Life) in great and sundry Expeditions drew from the *Britains*, not only all the Choice and Flower of the Nation, but, in a manner, all the Men, who either perishing with the *Roman* Affairs, or at least never returning, the residue, that were the Dregs, the simple and unserviceable of the People, of abject Minds, and destitute of Wit and Courage for their own Defence, by occasion of their Weakness, gave opportunity to the *Picts* and *Scots* (that were the second Scourge) with great and often Incursions for a time to afflict them.

For ther was in one Monthe leventene thousand and mo
For Goddis lobe martired. was here nougt gret wo
Withoute gret halowen. that thei longe helde in torment
As Seynt Cristyne, Seynt Feyth. and ehe Seynt Vincent
And Sebastian and other many. as men may in Chirche rede
And many one ther turnede ageyn. to hethenesse for drede
Amonge alle thise in this Londe. ther were many one
Thilke tyme martired. and Seynt Albon was that one
That was the first martyr. to Englond that come
Dere hath many one. ybougt trewe Cristendome.

I know indeed that the Learned Mr. *DODWELL*, [Diss. Cypr. *de paucitate Martyrum*, §. 75.] Bp. *Fleetwood*, [Præf. ad Part. II. *Syllog. Inscript.*] and Mr. *Tyrrell* [Preface to the first Vol. of his *General Hist. of England*, p. 24.] do think that there was no Persecution in *Britain* at this time; but since *Gildas*, [lib. *de Excid. & Conq. Brit.* c.VI,VII.] *Bede*, [*de sex Ætatibus mundi*, p. 112. Tom. II. Operum ejus Ed. *Col. Agr.* MDCXII. and *H. E.* c.VI.] and divers Authors besides are express against them, I must profess my self to decline this Opinion 'till these Authors are confuted by better Arguments than those drawn from Inconsistence in Chronology; because we know the Monks were very bad Chronologers, being content to put down Things as they found them related without observing the strict Rules of Time: And consequently the Proofs taken from thence must be reckoned very unconclusive.

5. The *Britains* then came to partake of a greater Bleſſing: true Religion ſhined on them, and for a while they took pleaſure in the light thereof: but ſoon forgetting what became the Receivers of ſo great a Benefit, God's Hand then more heavy upon the Prophaners and Tramplers of Grace, than before of Reaſon, brought upon them the heavieſt and moſt exemplar Judgment that has almoſt befallen any Nation; when by the People, whom they invited for their Aid againſt their Enemies, after 400 years War and Affliction with them, they were in the End, not overcome or expelled only, but in a manner extirpate and cut off from their Inheritance, a Remnant only in a Corner of the Land reſerved to keep on foot the Memory both of the long Sufferance and Juſtice ſhewed on them.

6. This fatal Scourge (the third in Number) was by the Hand of the *Saxons* and the *Angles*, who both drave out the *Britains* and ſucceeded in their place, and who after as great a light falling again into as foul a Relapſe were (though in a different manner) counted to have ſuffered a greater Affliction than the *Britains* did.

7. The *Saxons*, after they had ſerved the *Britains* turn, enticed by the ſweetneſs of the Land to make further uſe of the footing they had got (to which their [1] Differences with the *Britains* gave them an occaſion) and augmenting evermore with new Arrivals, made good unto themſelves ſuch portions of the Land as was neceſſary for their preſent Entertainment, planted themſelves in Colonies, and each Colonie grew at length into a little Kingdom; and having ſoon received Chriſtianity, (which the *Saxons* did embrace with great Devotion) it flouriſhed with them, and their Kingdoms ſeemed eſtabliſhed with it. So that it was

1 Theſe Differences proceeded from the unreaſonable Demands of the *Saxons*, being not content with the Conditions agreed upon firſt with the *Britains*, who were punctual in their Performance 'till ſuch time as they perceived that the *Saxons* main Deſign in their Coming over was to get the whole Iſland into their own Hands.

not

not long [1] e're all that part of *Britain*, which we properly call *England*, became the Dividend of the *Saxon Heptarchy*, namely *Kent* their Kingdom of *Kent*: *Suſſex* and *Surrey* the Kingdom of *South-Saxons*: *Cornwall*, *Devonſhire*, *Dorcetſhire*, *Somerſetſhire*, *Wiltſhire*, *Hampſhire* and *Berkſhire* the Kingdom of *Weſt-Saxons*: *Eſſex* and *Middleſex* of the *Eaſt-Saxons*: *Yorkſhire*, *Durham*, *Lancaſhire*, *Weſtmorland*, *Cumberland*, *Northumberland*, and the Northerly part of *Lincolnſhire* the Kingdom of the *Northumbrians*: *Huntingdon*, *Rutland*, the Southerly part of *Lincolnſhire*, *Northamptonſhire*, *Leiceſterſhire*, *Darbyſhire*, *Nottinghamſhire*, *Oxfordſhire*, *Cheſhire*, *Shropſhire*, *Gloceſterſhire*, *Worceſterſhire*, *Staffordſhire*, *Warwickſhire*, *Buckinghamſhire*, *Bedfordſhire*, and *Hartfordſhire*, theſe made the Kingdom of the *Mercians*; And *Norfolk*, *Suffolk*, *Cambridgſhire* and the Iſle of *Ely* the Kingdom of *East-Angles*. The Midland-*Angles*, and the Middle-*Saxons*, never had diſtinct Kingdoms of their own, but were ſubject the firſt to the *Mercians*, and the other to the *East-Saxons* at firſt, and after to the *Mercians* alſo.

8. And ſo while the *Saxons* preſent ſucceſs yet ſatisfying their Minds kept them off from falling upon new Temptations, they grew ſo zealous in Religion, that their Devotion was conſpicuous throughout the Church; 'till the Encreaſe and Popularity of every Kingdom, making their own Territories ſeem too ſtraight for themſelves, and their Neighbours too far extended. And then they quarrel with one another about their Confines and afterward (according to the Ambition of their Princes) for Superiority, 'till at the laſt they wholly became the ſeed-plots of an Inteſtine War, of all other the moſt to be abhorred. For fraternal Wars, having little of honourable to juſtify them,

1 This Account is not accurate, the Diviſion into Counties being made after the Union, without any reſpect to the *Heptarchy*. For the South Parts of *Oxford* and *Glocester*-ſhires belong'd to the *West-Saxons*; ſo that *Dorchester* in *Oxford*-ſhire was the Seat of their Biſhop. *Northumberland* alſo contain'd the South Part of *Scotland*, not to mention the Uncertainty of the Bounds by reaſon of continual Wars.

and consequently to yield Repose to the Mind (that naturally affects the glory of an honest Action as her proper rest) they drive the Mind (as *Achitophel* did *Absolom*) to fortify it self with obduracy against the sense of Guilt. And then War, (which is not good but by permission; nor honourable, but when the End is reasonable, and the Manner fair) wanting in civil Broils those due Boundaries, gives such a loose to all Licentiousness, as that nothing can be more pernicious to a State than it. To say truth, the success of the *Saxons* Discord was, that they did not more wast and consume, every one the Potency of his Neighbour, than corrupt and ruin the Manners of their own People. So that in process of time (saith *Hoveden*) all Virtue became so wholly abolished in them, as no Nation whatsoever might compare with them for Treachery and Villany. So precipitate a Depravation did the Licentiousness of mutual Rapine bring upon them.

9. In this sort did their sin and punishment both increase together, 'till the worser weed outstripping far the other put the Divine Justice to seek a smarter Rod, who punishing not so much for Vengeance as Amendment, (that the Correspondence of the Chastisement with the Offence might the better bring them to the knowledge of their fault) brings in the *Danes* (the fourth of the 5 Scourges) as it were on purpose to [1] afflict the

1 The *Saxons* had now arrived at the very Height of Wickedness; which so far provok'd the Wrath of God as to bring so dreadfull a Judgment upon this Nation, that for above CC years this barbarous People hardly ever ceas'd to come over in whole Swarms, and to destroy all before them. That this Decay of Religion and Piety, and Indulging all manner of Vice, was the cause of so severe Punishment, is generally asserted by our Historians, and amongst the rest by *John Hardyng*, who gives [Chron. fol. xciiii. a. Impr. *Lond.* MDXLIII.] us this Relation of the Corruption of those Times:

Thus in defaute of lawe and peace conserved
Common profyte, was wasted and devoured
Percyall [l. parcial è MS. Bodl.] profyte, was sped and observed
And Venus also, was commonly honoured
For lechery and aduoutry, was maste adoured.
Amonge them was common, as the carte waye
Ryot, robbery, oppressyon, nyght and daye.

Saxons

Saxons in the ſame manner that they had vexed one another.

10. Now though the *Britains* were to a very ſmall part cut off and chaced from their Native Soil, and the reſidue being driven into a Corner were not otherwiſe ſecure there, than by the wild and mountainous ſite thereof, and the beſt of their Country poſſeſs'd by Enemies even before their Eyes: yet was it wonne from them but by parts, at ſeveral times, and many years intervenient. It was poſſeſs'd by thoſe who firſt at the *Britains* Requeſt left their own Country, and came and helped them in their Miſeries, had in *Kent* and in the Northern Parts (which then lay waſt by reaſon of the *Picts*) their firſt Plantation by permiſſion, ſerved the *Britains* as Bulwarks, and, by expoſing themſelves, long time ſecured them againſt their feared Enemy. Neither did the other acceſſions of the *Saxons* want a reaſonable ground (at leaſt by the rule of War) in that they were neceſſary for ſecuring themſelves againſt the *Britains*, who, after their turns ſerved, ſought again to have expelled them. So as the *Saxons* ſaw themſelves in a manner preſſed, they muſt invade or hazard to be excluded; whereupon quarrelling, and coming to the trial of the Sword, the *Saxons*, in the courſe of War, firſt maintained their own Right, and then invaded that of their Aſſailants, and in both prevailing, uſed their Victory fairly, planted, built, manured and inhabited, eſtabliſhed Laws of Equity and Peace, and lived a more reclaimed life than at that time the *Britains* themſelves had done: which preſent, and before their Eyes condemning them of their enormous life, muſt needs take off, though not the Senſe, yet the Aggravation of their great Calamity; in that their fortune had ſubjected them to thoſe that had already freed them from the ſlavery of a more ſavage Enemy and were of life and merit better than themſelves.

11. But the *Danes* (whoſe turn it was now to be the Scourgers of the *Saxons*, as the *Saxons* had been lately of the *Britains*) though as *Germans* they were all one

one Nation with the *Saxons*, yet were they a People of another manner of Condition, and the moſt baneful afflicters and ſubverters of a ſettled State, that ever Kingdom could be overrun withal. They were not all of them Colonies ſent forth by lot (as moſt of the *Saxons* had been) to ſeek them ſeats of new Plantation, but the promiſcuous Vent of all *Germany*, and for the moſt part the Refuſe-Scumm of all the Maritime Parts thereof, *Goths*, *Danes*, *Norwegians*, *Sueves*, *Friſons*, and others here and there from about the Banks of *Rhine*; who rejecting Labour and civil Habitation gave themſelves to no other Courſe of Life, nor ſought they other Suſtentation, than only Theft, Robbery, and Violence, practiſing the uſing of Shipping for the love of Piracie, and like flights of Waſps and Hornets coaſting all about, whatſoever fertile place by any was diſcovered the whole ſwarm ſoon ſeiſed upon it, and made a Prey of the Plenty, ſucking out the ſweet of others Labours, and devouring whatſoever others induſtry had with their ſweat prepared. And yet (like *Pharaoh*'s leane Kine, nothing fatter for the Fatlings they had eaten) their Booty tended not to their Enrichment, nor ever minded they, from the advantage of their abundant Purveyance, to augment the manner and condition of their preſent life, but as their Home was alway where they themſelves were, ſo what they got was ever there devoured. As for their Wives and Children, that uſually followed them whereſoe're they went, we learn of *Tacitus* it was the manner of the *Germans* Life and Warfare to have them with them in

---

1 *Tacitus* is to be underſtood of the *Germans* Excurſions by Land only, not of their Expeditions by Sea. For we do not find that the *Danes* had any Women or Children with them, it being contrary to their Cuſtom of Exerciſing Piracie to be troubled with ſuch unneceſſary Companions; tho' it muſt be allow'd that if they had need to travel in a great number of Ships, the extraordinary Affection there generally was between Husband, Wife and Children (of which *Clever* in his *Germ. Antiqua* has given a particular Relation) would have oblig'd them to go together.

their

their Army, and that the ſight of Wife and Children was their great Incentive unto Courage and to Reſolution, not any argument of their deſign or purpoſe of Plantation. When once they arrived where they hoped to ſpeed, their manner was to fortify ſome place, or (if they could) ſurpriſe ſome Town or City for their *Rendezvous*, and when they had devoured it and all that was about it, they made Excurſions whereſoe're new hopes invited them, till all being waſt within the reach of their Inroads, they quitted that place, and made a new and unexpected ſeiſure of another, divers bands of them at the ſame time uſing in ſeveral places the ſame or ſuch like Courſe of Rapine that ſome of them did in others.

12. Nor was the Wealth and Plenty only of the Land thus made a Prey unto them, but the People themſelves, without Regard of Sex or of Condition, their Cities, Towns and Houſes, went all to Sword, to Fire and to Ruin, 'till at laſt there was not any place left ſo entire unto the *Saxons* as that they might reckon that there yet they had a place of ſettled Habitation. And after all their Miſery was not more in what they ſuffer'd at the hand of the Enemy, than in the enſuing Barbariſm and general Impiety that with it entred in among themſelves.

13. For lighting on the time that the *Saxons*, wholly given to Violence and the mutual Spoil of one another, had ſo far made their own way to Barbariſm, as that they had rejected Literature and all good Studies, and even abandoned both Juſtice and Religion, the *Danes* ſeconding of them, in that impious Work of theirs, for a matter of fourſcore years together (from the 10th year of *Brichtrick* the *Weſt Saxon* 793. to the ſixt year of *Alfred* 878.) did at laſt introduce it in ſo great a Height, as that after the ſpoil of the Country, ſlaughter of the Men, their Wives and Children, or Captivating of them, burning their Cities, ſacking their Monaſteries (the few, and in thoſe times the almoſt only Nurſeries and Bulwarks of Religion, of Letters, and Civility) prophaning

prophaning their Churches and appropriating to themselves their Treasure, (their chiefest Riches of the Land) they not only laid the Country in a manner wast and at once deprived it both of Religion, Learning, Virtue, Beauty, Strength and Plenty, but took away all means in humane judgment from any sudden change to good, either of themselves or of the People they had so subdued.

14. Thus the *Saxons* first weakened and laid open with their Discords, and then depraved and lost in themselves with their ensuing Vitiousness, became in the end a common Prey unto a People so far at first inferiour to themselves, as to say truth they neither had the Design, the Discipline, the Judgment, nor the Courage, that otherwise had been necessary to have made a Conquest of them. 'Till *Alfred* happily surviving the fate of all his Neighbour Kingdoms and (in a manner) likewise of his own, and becoming sole head of the few that remained undevoured of the War and unrevolted to the Enemy, did not only for his time give a stop and countermand to the *Dane* his licentious Courses, and repair in all Kinds what his barbarous Cruelty had ruined, but so mightily broke and subdued the Power of him, as that from being Lord and in a manner sole Possessor of the Country he brought him at last to be no more than a Colonie, and a Vassal of his own Kingdom. Nevertheless after his Grandchild's Death obtaining again with somewhat more liberty the Channel of their wonted Current, for almost 300 years together (although with various fortune) they held on their Course even to the coming in of the *Norman*, the last of those five Plagues that have before been reckoned.

15. But now how deplorable soever the Condition of the Natives at those times were, and how admirable soever the Spirit of that Man, by whose Abilities the Peace and Liberty of the Country were restored, yet shall the Relator hardly find the means to make so handsome a Delivery of the Matter, as not to become

soon

ſoon irkſome to the Reader; ſeeing the Actions on both parts always proſecuted in the ſame manner, and much what with the ſame Event, with little more variety wherewith to entertain the Reader, than only the variety of Names and Numbers, Time and Place: And even of them alſo the Originals have been too too ſparing.

16. That excellent Hiſtorian *Tacitus* in the Life of *Tiberius*[1], quarrels with his Subject as beating too much upon the ſame thing. *Nobis in arcto & inglorius labor*, ſaith he. —— *Eaſdem cuncta cauſſas conjungimus obvia rerum ſimilitudine & ſatietate.* But with how much greater and more juſt cauſe might I complain of the Times I now collect, when the War (for ſo much as remains to us) with all the Changes and Cloſes thereof, affords but little more than what is every day repreſented to us by Children in their Playing at Priſon-Baſe? Incurſions, Rapine and Depredations, on the one ſide, ſometime repulſed, ſometime intercepted with Recovery of the Booty by thoſe of the other ſide. The War never intereſſed more than the two Parties, aſſaylng and defending: there was no third, that might be gained by the one, or provoked by the other, or perhaps indifferently feared of them both; therefore there were no ſolemn Embaſſies, nor ſought Confederations, no forreign Aids, nor By-deſigns of the Aſſociates, that make more buſineſs than the War it ſelf which they pretend to quiet. And as for the Virtues themſelves, that in theſe wars did ever do the ſervice, to wit, conſtant Courage, Vigilance, and never fainting Induſtry, they afford not always Matter pleaſant in Diſcourſe, though always Matter worthy of true Admiration. Other buſineſs than in this manner there was not any. So as the ſingleneſs of the Affair affording very ſeldom any Ground for ſtrange, or unexpected Accident, and the Nakedneſs of Matter, not being accompanied with the Cauſe and Reaſon of the Action, muſt needs make the Relation, not only to want variety enough wherewith

1 Annal. lib. 4to.

to

to please, but, thorough the similitude of things done, incur the same Tediousness and Distaste, that Iteration and Tautology would do.

17. And as simple as the Affairs were in themselves, the Particulars of them have not yet remained to us, but time in them likewise has bereft us of the Variety of Circumstances, and rather given us to understand, that there were such and such things done worthy enough of Note, than instructed us in the Particulars what they were.

18. For the Writers of those Times, although that living, some of them in *Alfred*'s Life time, some of them near after, are presumed to have had Knowledge particular enough of all the Passages of the King's Life and Actions, yet as if they had more feared Posterity should loose the Judgment, how to value the Actions of the King, than the means to come to the full and perfect knowledge of them, they have rather declaimed in Commendation of him, than writ the Actions of his Life, extolling in general his Wisdom, and his Courage, and admiring his admirable Victories in such and such places, when in the mean time they omit the Particulars, the Manner, Danger, Odds of Numbers, Difference of Provisions, and other Circumstances that made the business difficult, the Counsel, Vigilance, and Magnanimity of the King, which known had not only edged the Reader's Affection with a more thirsty desire after the event of such ambiguous streights, but beyond the reach of their weak Acclamations have eternized him in the same height of Honour, that he was then beheld in the just Mirrour of the Age he lived in.

19. But as for the prejudice of the Writer, it is not much material; for having no aim of thought, by the benefit of a choice Subject to steal into the repute of an Historian, it shall be more than sufficient recompence for my good Will, if in any sort I may be able (for much is not to be expected) to bring again to Life the Honour of that Prince, who having been the happy Founder

Founder of our Monarchy and Lineal Anceſtor (in Male or Female Line) of all our Monarchs, and an Eternal Honour to them both, has too too early been obſcured if not buried in forgetfulneſs.

20. And now having briefly toucht upon the Courſe and Faſhion of thoſe times, that the Reader, levelling his Expectation with the Pitch of their Affairs, may upon eveners Terms fall upon the Peruſal of the Story, I ſhall forthwith enter into the Relation, which (according to our ſcant Memorials) was as followeth.

21. The *Saxon Heptarchy* having through their Diſcords (as we touched before) run diverſe fortunes, tending all to Change and Diminution, came at laſt to be contracted into the form of a *Tetrarchy*, to wit into the Kingdoms of the *Weſt-Saxons*, of the *Mercians*, of the *Eaſt-Angles* and of the *Northumbrians*, the other Kingdoms being all ſwallowed up of theſe. And as in the time of the *Heptarchy* the moſt Active and Powerful of the ſeven Kings was for the time being counted as Sovereign of the whole, and by thoſe that derive and continue the Line of Succeſſion from the *Britiſh* Kings unto the *Norman*, reckoned as ſole Monarchs of the *Engliſh*, ſo that Potency at laſt reſided in the Kingdom of the *Weſt-Saxons*; which including then within it the Kingdom of *Kent* and *South-Saxons*, contained all that Part of *England* which lieth Southward of the *Thames* and *Severn* until you come to *Wales*. As for the Kingdom of the *Northumbrians*, although at times it had often born the Sway and Sovereignty among the other, yet came it at length to be the weakeſt of the four, and the Kings it had rather *Reguli* than *Reges*, in compariſon of what it formerly had been. *Mercia* and *Eaſt-Anglia* were likewiſe in their Decline, their Princes given wholly to devotion, and but little Active, their Countries annoyed with the *Danes*, and their People much in Diſorder through that occaſion.

The decline of the *Heptarchy*.

Potency of the *Weſt-Saxons*.

22. *Æthelwolf* the Son of *Ecbbright* was at this time King of the *Weſt-Saxons*, a Prince of the prime Bloud and Lineage of all the *Saxon* Kings, deriving lineally from

Æthelwolf.

from *Woden*, who among the Ancient *Germans* had not only the Repute of a Sovereign, but of a Deity, as by the two Week-Days *Wednesday* and *Friday*, consecrate to him and to his Wife *Frea*, is notorious enough. *Æthelwolf*, from them descended by Ancestors, that for diverse Descents together had now been *Christians*, became a most Zealous Professor; and having in his Father's Life time entred into Sacred Orders, he was at first made [1] Bishop of *Winchester*, but afterward, upon his Father's death, and failance (perhaps) of other Issues, he was *necessitate cogente* (saith *Huntington*) deraigned and made King of the *West-Saxons*. And taking to Wife a pious Lady named *Osburg*, Daughter of the famous Earl *Oslac*, (whose Ancestors of the same Lineage were by *Cerdic*, first King of *West-Saxons*, made Governours of the Isle of *Wight*) he had by her five Sons, [2] *Æthelstan*, *Æthelbald*, *Æthelbright*, *Æthelred* and *Ælfred*. These in their several times were all of them Kings, the first of *Kent* in his Father's Life time, the other of *West-Saxons*, successively after his Death. He had also a Daughter named [3] *Æthelswitha*, whom he married to *Burhed* King of *Mercia*.

His Children.

23. *Ælfred* though last and least of the five Sons had yet the first place in his Parents Affection, there from his Infancy appearing in him not only a sweetness of Favour and Countenance above the rest, but also an Excellence of Spirit, of Wit and Disposition. And being therefore their Darling he was in his tender years brought up with them in the Court, (a thing not usual in those days, the *Saxons* perhaps observing somewhat

---

1 He was only Subdean not Bishop, as is well observed by Bishop *Godwin*, [*de Præs. Angl.* pag. 262. *Lond.* MDCXVI.] and is more evident from *Tho. Rudborne's Historia Major*, lately publish'd by Mr. *Wharton*. [Vide p. 200. Vol. 1. *Anglia Sacra.*]

2 *Matthew Westm.* says [*Flor. Hist.* sub an. DCCCXXXVII.] he was his Bastard-son, and several other of our Historians call him his Brother.

3 She died in the year 888, and was buried at *Pavia*. See the *Saxon Chron.* See more of her towards the end of this History.

of

of the Nobles of the *Gauls*, not publickly to admit their Children to their presence till they were grown up and able to bear Arms,) where while the towardliness of the Child fed *Athelwolf*'s Thoughts with the Expectation of something more than ordinary in him, to give the best furtherance he could unto his Hopes, he bethinks himself of sending him to *Rome*, there to receive the Benediction Apostolical of that Chair, of which he (having once been of the Clergy) was ever a great Adorer. sent to *Rome*.

24. What was *Athelwolf*'s direct purpose herein, we may diversly conjecture but not determine. It is possible he might judge it available for *Alfred*'s future Establishment in some Kingdom (as *Kent* or *Sussex*) that he particularly intended to bestow upon him. Yet

---

1 Cap. lib. VI.

2 Mr. *Tyrrel* [*Gen. Hist. of Eng.* Vol. I. I.V. p. 262.] is of Opinion, that he was not Anointed King of any Present Dominions, which he also thinks plain from an Old MS. in the *Cottonian* Library, which says he was Anointed *in successorem paterni regni*. But since the *Welch* Annals, publish'd by *Percy Enderbie* in the year MDCLXI, affirm [see Vol. I. pag. 216.] that King *Athelstan* subdued a great Part of *Wales*, and since *Huntingdon* [Hist. lib. V. p. 348. Ed. *Rouen*, MDCI.] asserts, that this happened the very year wherein Ælfred was sent to *Rome*, I believe he was Anointed King of *South-Wales*; which seems also plain from the *Saxon* Chronicle, which mentions this Conquest of the *Welch*. Now though it be commonly reckoned that *Ælfred* was the first Anointed King of *England*, and therefore *Robert* of *Gloucester* thus expresses [Vol. 73. b.] his Journey and Inunction at *Rome*,

Alfrede this good man, in the yere of grate nume
Eyght hundred and fifty, and tweif the Kyngdome
Wende to Rome at Rome he, and for his grete wisdome
The Pope Lyonn him dubbed, when he thider come.
And the Kynges Crowne of tyles Londe, that in this londe yit
Were him on and ayeld him of he kynge were I wis
Ever he was Kynge of Englonde: of alle that there come
That ever were anoiled were: of the Pope of Rome.
And tyme other atte him, of the Archibischope ethone
Ac thus before him. Kynge anoiled was ther none.

[Agreably to which it is said in a certain MS. in the *Bodleian* Library, (*Laud. C.* 22.) ISTE ALVREDVS FVIT PRIMVS REX ANGLORVM REGIALEM VNCTIONEM IACCEPIT (for unctionem

Yet I find in the Apology [1] for *Oxford* (for the MS. is self I have not seen) that an incertain Author in his Marginal Notes upon *Ranulph Higden* affirms, that *Æthelwolf* had such Direction from an Angel in a Dream, in these words: *Atulphe Rex dilecte Dei, quid moraris? mitte filium post-genitum ad Rom. Pontificem, ut ab ipso inungatur in Regem* Anglorum, *& sic ab ipso procedat unctio Regalis ad ceteros Reges ipsius regni in perpetuum duratura. Omnipotens Dominus filium tuum elegit in principem super* Anglos, *quia regnum* Angliæ *est regnum Dei in illo, & dic* Swithuno *quod ipse vadat cum filio tuo ad* Rom. *Pont. quod ipse homo justus est in conspectu Domini*, &c. And this saith that Note is in the life of St. *Alfred*, writt by St. *Neotus*.

25. That *Æthelwolf*'s purpose might be promoted by some Dream that he had, is not unlikely; but whether we may receive the whole particulars of this Dream in such sort as the Note delivers them, I know not: if yea, then must we refer the first Nomination of this Kingdom by the Name of *Anglia* or *England* to the Angel's Auspication of King *Ælfred's* Reign. But I must confess I am very much to seek, whom he there meant by [2] St. *Ælfred*; for besides that I no where find

---

nem accepit in another MS. of Archbishop *Laud's*, f. 10. b. (*tis coronatus erat.*) ROMÆ A LEONE III.] I say tho' this be the common opinion, yet there is mention in some Authors of Kings being Anointed before. For *Gildas*, [*de Excidio Brit.* c. XIX.] speaking of the Errors in Religion and of the Wickedness of the old *Britains*, hath this Passage of the *British* Kings of that Age: *ungebantur reges & non per Deum, sed qui ceteris crudeliores exstarent & paullo post ab unctoribus non pro veri examinatione trucidabantur, alijs electis trucioribus.* He flourished above MC. Years since, and therefore could not [*Selden's Titles of Honour* Part I. c. VIII. p. 149. Ed. *Lond.* MDCXXXI.] deceive us herein by using the Phrase of a later Time, as perhaps it may be thought the Monk of *Malmsbury* doth in his Relation of King *Egfert*, Son and Successor of King *Offa* in the Kingdom of *Mercia*, about the year DCCXC. *Dulci*, saith he, [*de Gestis Reg. Angl.* lib. I. c. IV.] *tamen vitam consumpsit otio, &* Egfertum *filium ante mortem suam in regem inunctum successorem dimisit.*

1 Lib. II. Sect. 197.

2 Archbishop *Usher* [in his Chronological Index to his *Antiquitates*

find our *Alfred* so ſtiled, I cannot but marvel that St. *Neots* ſhould write his Life and ſtile him a Saint, when he loved not to ſee but the former part of his Reign, which in St. *Neots* his Judgment was not ſuch as ſhould deſerve that Title, as we ſhall after ſhew. But leaving Conjectures, it is of all agreed that *Athelwolf de facto*, while *Alfred* was yet but five [1] years old, ſent him with an Honourable Attendance to *Rome*. And *Leo* the 4th then Pope, whether carried with the Reverence of the Thing, (he underſtanding it an eſpecial Miſſion from God, which the Extraordinary Spirit and Genius of the Child, promiſing a fortune beyond the condition of a common perſon, did confirm him in) or whether moving upon Advice, that the Favour ſued for (were it available to the Suit or not) did well enough conduce to his own Affairs, his Authority receiving more in conferring the Honour, than the Party himſelf in accepting of it, in thoſe his tender years, in his Father's Life time, and while three of his Elder Brothers were yet living, anoynts him for a King, crowns him, ſtiles him his Adopted Son, and plentifully beſtows his Apoſtolick Bleſſings on him. Anointed King in his Infancy.

26. Some have been of Opinion, that this Unction of *Alfred* by *Leo* 4th was not that Ceremony of Anointing Kings, (as at their Coronations) but rather the Chriſme uſed in Confirmation, and, by miſtake of the Monks, taken and related for Regal Unction: which going in Diminution of that which is generally reputed to have been intended and done as an eſpecial Honour to this our *Alfred*, I muſt ſo far oppoſe as offer it to Judgment, whether likely the Religious that have writ that

---

quibuſ. Bib. Bodl. ſub an. DCCCLXXIII.] reads *Regis* for *Sanctæ*; but which is the right I cannot tell, becauſe I know not where the MS. Copy of *Hen. Huntingdon* now is, from whence the ſaid Note was taken: tho' the greateſt part of the MSS. of Mr. *Thomas Allen*, on whom that alſo belong'd, came into the *Bodleian* Library after his Death by the Gift of Sir *Kenelm Digby*.

1 Influente *Alfredum* oppido ordinant, unctio in Regem, & in filium adoptionis ſibimet accipiens confirmavit. *Aſſ. Ann. Alfredi* qui

that passage could be so far mistaken, as not to distinguish betwixt Regal Unction and the Chrisme, a Ceremony of the Church at that time common and in frequent use? especially *Asser* a Learned Bishop, then living, and *Malmesbury* an understanding and most judicious Monk? both which affirm that it was Regal Unction, and *Malmesb.* that it was accompanied with Coronation. Besides I conceive it was not agreeable with the practice of the Church that *Ælfred* at that Minority should receive Confirmation, when as they [2] confirmed none till they were grown of Maturity of years and Understanding to give an account of their

qui unctionem regalem & coronam à Papa *Leone* olim *Romæ* susceperat. *& alibi*, qui *Ælfr.* regem inunxerat. Quem *Leo* P. (sui Patris rogatu) oppido ordinans unxit in Regem. *Flor. Wig.* Quem *Leo* in regem benedixit. *Hunt.* & *Hoved.* Quem & sanctificat in Regem, & filium à charismate nominavit, ut modo sub manu Episcopi solemnus accipientes parvulos filios nominate. *Æthelwerd.* Regiæ coronæ honore ab *Adriano* II. *Rom.* Pontifice rursus honestatur. *Edwardus Higgons*, lib. IV. cap. 8. MS. as if he had been twice crowned as well by *Adrian* as by *Leo.* SPELMAN.

1 And agreeably to this, an Anonymus Author in Sir *Kenelm Digby's* MS. nnn. 196. tells us, that *Ælfred* was crown'd again afterwards at *Winchester*, plainly signifying that he was of opinion, that this Unction (which he is just before speaking of) was *Regal.* And that's the reason that in the Margin of *Robert of Gloucester* in the *Bodlejan* Library (*inter Codd. Digb.* 205.) f. 73. b. a later hand has told us, that K. *Ælfred's* being anointed is nothing else than that he was crowned. Ælfrede (saith he) the Kyng of England first anoynted of the Pope with a creme, that it to crowned him. And in a MS. of Sir *Thomas Bodley's* [NE. B. 1. 6. f. 8. a. and f. 50. 2.] 'tis expresly call'd *coronacio.* To the same purpose likewise in MS. NE. D. 2. 12. f. 42. a. and in another NE. f. 3. 9. and in others which I have seen.

2 The Ceremony of Confirmation [*Ham. L'Estrange's Alliance of Divine Offices* p. 262.] was consider'd by the Apostles and succeeding Fathers, as the *Complement* and Close of Baptism, not that Baptism was ineffectual without it, but an Assistant to it; and therefore in Persons *Adult.* it immediately succeeded the very Act of Baptizing and Dipping. In others it did not follow 'till they came to years of Discretion; which being later in some than others, there was no set number of Years: which is exactly agreeable to the Rule of our Church. But whether this was observed in the Time of K. *Ælfred* is very uncertain, the *Romanists* having in this as well as other matters

their Faith and Religion, which *Alfred* at 5 years old (though he were a forward Child) could not well be supposed to do. But *Ethelward* makes it clear, when he tells, *that after Leo had consecrated him for a King, he from thence fled.* Alfred *his Son, as the Writer Ethelwerd* (saith he) *used to call the little one*, &c. So that taking express Notice of both Ceremonies, and comparing them, he yet concludes *Alfred's Anointing to be Royal.* Therefore pursuing this Question no farther, I shall confidently receive for Truth that, which the Writers all consent in, that is, that *Alfred* was anointed for a King, and so return again unto our purpose.

2. *Alfred* was but newly returned home with this Honour, when his Father *Athelwulf*, with the Advice and Consent of his Clergy and Nobles, first giving the Tenth part of all his Kingdom to the Church free and discharged of all Secular Duty and Service, and adding

ters very much alter'd the most Ancient Custom; insomuch that about CCCC Years since we find that in *England* [*Comber's Companion to the Temple* Part III. p. 220. Ed. MDCLXXXIV.] Children were usually confirm'd at five years of age: And *Aquinas* informs us [Sum. 3. p. quæst. 72. Artic. 9.] that in the *Roman* Church Infants were confirm'd very soon after Baptism, upon perswasion, that they were not perfect *Christians* without it.

1 This he did in a Council at *Westminster* in the Year DCCCLIV, or DCCCLV; but whereas our Historians differ in their Accounts, some saying that it was before his Journey to *Rome*, others that 'twas after, I believe with Sir *Hen. Spelman* that this Grant was made twice, once before he went to *Rome*, where 'twas confirm'd by the Pope, and again afterwards in a Great Council. The Words of the Charter are, as printed by Sir *H. Spelman* out of *Ingulfus* &c. *cum consilio Episcoporum ac Principum meorum consilium salubre ac uniforme remedium affirmantes, consensimus, ut aliquam portionem terrarum hereditariam antea possidentibus omnibus gradibus, sive famulis & famulabus Dei Deo servientibus, sive laicis miseris semper decimam mansionem, ubi minimum sit, tum decimam partem omnium bonorum in libertatem perpetuam donari sanctæ Ecclesiæ dijudicavi, ut sit tuta & munita ab omnibus secularibus servitutibus, imo regalibus tributis majoribus, & minoribus, sive taxationibus, quæ nos dicimus* Winterden, *sitque libera omnium rerum remissione animarum, & peccatorum nostrorum ad serviendum Deo soli, sine expeditione, & pontis exstructione, & arcis munitione, ut eo diligentius*

jam nobis ad Deum fuæ collationis preces fundant, quo eorum intercessione aliqua parte levigemur. But since, as Mr. *Selden* says, [*Hist. of Tythes*, p. 205.] *it is very hard from hence to collect, what the exact Meaning was*, from this Passage added by *Ingulfus* [p. 17. Ed. *Oxon.*] *impetrata Prælatorum & Principum sanctione, aut sibi ipso variis privilegiis inito, Anglicus præsul ab omni gravamine absolutus, suæ primo cum decimis, tum omnibus aliis rerum suæ catallorum, universam dotaverat Ecclesiam Anglicanam, per suum Regium chirographum confectum*, he doth conjecture [Ibid. p. 206.] *that the purpose of the Charter was to make a general Grant of Tithes to be free*, *because it seems before*, *that the* [Ibid. p. 207.] *Payment of all Tythes had commonly been omitted.* Which as it is against the Consent of the greatest Part of our Ancient Writers, so it is contrary to the very Words of the Statute, and the following Reasons, [*Rich. Tillesley's Animadversions upon Mr.* Selden's *History of Tythes*, *Lond.* 1618. p. 286.] which evidently shew what the Grant was *of the Tenth Part of Lands*, not of *Tythes properly*. (1) *Ethelwolf* could not give that first which had been given before by *Ethelbert*, upon the Preaching of *Augustin* the Monk, [See the Laws of *Ed. Confessor*,] *Offa* King of *Mercia*, [See *Selden* ibid. pag. 261.] and *Athelstan* King of *Northumberland*. [Ibid. p. 260.] (2) Wherein those Kings gave Tythes properly, and that not only in their Lives, but also in their Subjects, and so could give more than *Ethelwolf* when he gave. But this *Decima* of his own Land of Inheritance, as appears both by his Passing it *per Regium Chirographum*, (his Royal Charter only, not any Act of Parliament,) from *Athelweard's de omni possessione sua*, the Word *hereditariam* in the Charter, his Testament in *Florence of Worc. &c.* yet *Ethelwolph* is extoll'd by King *Edgar* [in his Speech to the Clergy in *Ailredo Rievallensi de Genealogia Regum Anglorum* p. 359. apud decem Scriptores] and *William of Malmsbury*, [*de Gestis Pontificum Ang.* p. 242.] as doing something extraordinary, and therefore this must be more than Tythes. (3) There was no need for *Ethelwolf* to have ask'd the Consent of his Bishops and Nobles, to give Tythes out of his own Lands, though it might seem requisite to ask Consent to convey so much Land. (4) *Ethelwolph* gave such a *Decima* as was lyable not only *to Taxes and Exactions of State then*, but also to that *Trimoda necessitas*, *of Pontis exstructio*, *expeditio*, *& Arcis munitio*; to which Service Lands only, and not annual Profits, were lyable. (5) If *Ethelwolf* gave [Seld. p. 207.] *the Tythes of predial and mixt profits*, *and the Tythe of every Man's personal Possessions were at that time also included in the Gift*; then how could there be any *newly consecrated Tythes after*? (as he endeavours to prove from Chartularies in the XIth Chapter,) since all were now given by a Charter in Parliament, nay by Parliamentarie Authority, as he calleth it. (6) If Monasteries and Nunneries (for so the Charter and *Edgar's* Speech do express) did not at that time enjoy any Tythes, (as his History tells us they did not) then nothing can be more certain than that King *Ethelwolf* did not give them: And therefore our Author had good reason to say, that he *gave the Tenth Part of all his Kingdom unto the Church*, &c.

adding

adding thereunto out of his particular Estate a Gift of[1] 300 Marks *per annum* to the Church of *Rome*, (which[2] afterward augmented, and made general over the whole Land, was the same, it seems, which was called *Romeshott* or *Peter-Pence*) he himself makes thither a Voyage in Person, and carries back with him his Son *Ælfred*, (when as yet he was not above seven years old) continuing with him there the space of a whole year. And (as he was altogether addicted to Piety, and Devotion,) he during the time of his Continuance there repairs the *Saxon* College, which built by one of his Predecessors was by Casualty then burnt down. It is the very same (I take it) which is now the House of the *English* Jesuits there[3].

Carried the second time to *Rome* by *Æthelwolf*.

28. *Æthelwolf* returning home again with his Son

---

1 *William of Malmsbury* says [*De Regibus Angl.* l. II. c. 2. fol. 22. a. 27.] *trecentas auri marcas*, and *Brompton* [*Chron.* col. 802. 27.] *trecenta talenta*. Our Author is mistaken in asserting, that they were imploy'd to the same use that *Peter-Pence* were: for, if we believe *Brompton* and other Authors, (as well MSS. as printed) one Hundred was given to the Light of St. *Peter*, a second to the Light of St. *Paul*, and the third to the Use of the Pope himself. And 'twas after this that he rebuilt the *English* College; for the Maintenance of which, in Imitation of King *Ina* and King *Offa*, he order'd *Peter-Pence* to be duly paid; which I wonder why *Polydore Vergil* [*Hist.* lib. IV. pag. 86, 40, 43.] should call *vectigal*, as if it were paid to the Pope, as an Acknowledgment, that *England* was Tributary to him and his Successors; whereas 'tis plain both from the Primitive Institution of it, and the Accounts our Writers give, that 'twas only an Alms: [See Mr. *Richard James's* Decimonatio Thomæ Cantuariensis & suorum, p. 26, 27. MS. in Bibl. Bodl.] And though *Malmsbury* calls it *tributum*, yet no body [See Sir *Roger Twysden's Historical Vindication of the Church of England in Point of Schism*, c. VI.] ever understood by it, that the Pope became a Superior Lord of the Lay-Fee, but used the word Metaphorically; as we do to this day term a Constant Rent a Kind of *Tribute*, and to those who pay it, and over whom we have in some sort a Command, we give the Title of *Subjects*; not as being Princes over them, but in that particular being under us, they are for it styled our Inferiors.

2 *Hollingshed* fol. 121.

3 It was credibly told me in *Rome*, that the Revenues of that House were 17000 *l. per annum*, till *Sixtus* 5. upon occasion of the *Spanish* Invasion 1588, took from it 8000 *l. per an.* saying he should make a wooden Bridg to go into *England*. SPELMAN.

through *France*, falls by the way upon a second Match, and takes to Wife *Judith*, Daughter to *Charles* Sirnamed *the Bald*, to the great Discontent of his own Nobility: the Circumstance whereof was thus.

29. One *Eadburg*, Wife to *Brictrick*, sometime King of the *West-Saxons*, had in so high a measure purchased the Favour of the King her Husband, as in a manner to administer the whole Affairs of the Kingdom; but growing licentious with it, while either with false Criminations, or secret Empoisonings, she ordinarily removed the Obstacles of her Designs, aiming by the latter Means to do it, in a faithful and dear Servant of the King's, the Plot so miscarried as that the King first tasted the prepared Cup, and both he and his Servant perished of the same. *Eadburg* flies, and the *Saxons* (to pursue her with Infamy that had otherwise escaped their Fury) combine together for her sake, never to suffer any King to Reign over them, that admitted his Wife to sit in the Throne with him. Hence grew it to be a Custom among the *West-Saxons*, that the Wife of

West-Saxons no Queen.

---

1. Lo. 802. in the Saxon Chronicler. DCCCLIV.

2. So *Asser Menevensis* [*De Gestis Ælfredi Regis*, pag. 8. Edit. Franc. and all *Matthew Westminster*, [sub an. DCCCLIV.] and *Florentius of Worcester*, [sub an. DCCCLVI.] But though [*Selden's Titles of Honour*, Part 2. c. VI. p. 116. Ed. fol.] *Ethelwolf* broke this Custom, and the baby against the King's Wife did not continue long in force; yet in the Times of some of his Successors there was often a Respect had unto it. For in some Memoirs of the Reign of King *Edgar*, the Queen is stiled only his Wife, or *legitima Regis* CONJUX, or Cynnuncge GEMAHOCA, that is, the King's Wife, and not Queen. In the Subscriptions of King *Edgar's* Charter of Privileges to *Ely* Abby by *Winchester*, yet remaining in Sir *Robert Cotton's* Library [sub Effigie *Prosperi* A. VIII. see the Learned Dr. *Smith's* Catalogue, thereof, p. 106.] and written in Letters of Gold in an Hand of the same Age; his Wife *Elfwith* subscribes thus: + Ego Elfwith [or *Elfwida*] *dei Monachic. Anglic.* Vol. I. p. 511.] *legitima prosperi Regis* CONJUX, *hanc tegumine* [or *concessione*, as in the *Abbendon. Angl.*] *Monachos eodem loco, Regis munimine, constituens crucem impressi*, or, as in the *Ackn. ecclesiam loco [illegible] regis munimine impressi* and also, + Ego Elfgiva, *quondam Regis* [illegible] *hanc egregiam crucis victoriam consolidavi*, as in the *Abbendon.* + Ego Edwy, *quondam regis* [illegible] *hanc domum regio crucis signaculo consolidavi.* and there are others of that nature of the same time, as

will

will appear by consulting the *Monasticon*. This *Elfthrith* is the same that our Historians commonly call *Elfrida* or *Elfthrida*, Daughter to *Orgar* then Earl or Duke (for those Titles were not then distinguish'd) of *Cornwal*. And *Edgifa* was the 3d and last Wife of King *Edward*, Son to King *Ælfred*, and Grandfather to *Edgar*; yet perhaps by reason of this severe Law she durst not stile her self otherwise than the *King's Grandmother*: for so *Ava* as well as *Avia* in those Times denoted. In the same Libratie is also extant a Reformation of the Monastick Life of both Sexes, intitled, *Regularis concordia Anglicæ Nationis Monachorum Sanctimonialiumque*, [Dr. *SMITH*, who tells us 'tis a very fair MS. gives us another Title, in his Cat. p. 151. sub *Faustina* B. III.] and written in *Edgar's* Time, wherein he takes care of the Monks, and his Wife of the Nunns, that is, hij GEMÆCCEAN Ælfðrirðe, or *his Wife Ælfthrith*. And perhaps hence it was, that the Wives of Great Dukes or Earls of that Time in the *West-Saxon* Kingdom, which after *Egbert* quickly swallowed up the rest, subscrib'd by the Name also of *Conjux*, and not by any Name of Dignity, as if they would abstain from Receiving any Communication of Title from their Lords, as well as the King's Wives did from the Kings. For *An.* DCCCLXXX, when *Ethelred* or *Ethered*, Duke or Earl of *Mercia* under King *Ælfred*, by his Charters [Regist. MS. vetustiss. Eccles. Wigorn. fol. 7. 29. 31. 211. &c. in Bibl. *Cotton*.] gave Lands to the Church of *Worcester*, he subscrib'd by the Name of *Dux* and *Patricius*; but his Wife, being otherwise a Princess and Daughter to King *Ælfred*, expresses her self in them only thus: + *Ego Athelfled CONJUX subscribens confirmavi*. and in other Charters: + *Ego Æthelfled consensi*. Yet they are both together styled: Æþrræð Alðorman ⁊ Æðelfleð Mercna hlafðrirðaj. that is, *Æthred the Alderman*, or *Duke*, *and Æthelfled the Lords of Mercia*, in an Instrument of *Werfrid*, Bishop of *Worcester*, in the year DCCCCIV made to the same Church. However notwithstanding in Expressing the Title of the King's Wife, such Respect were sometime after *Æthelwolf* had to that old Law; yet it also appears, that under the same K. *Edgar* the Wife was likewise sometimes styled *Queen* or *Regina*: which shews that the use of *Regina*, or *legitima Conjux*, without the Addition of *Regina*, was grown by this time promiscuous in the *West-Saxon* Kingdom. For the same Queen in a Charter to the Church of *Worcester* subscribes [in Pat. I. Ed. IV. part. 6. memb. 23.] + *Ego Elfyred*, or *Alfthrithd*, (as in the *Monasticon* Vol. I. p. 141.) *REGINA consensi & signo crucis confirmavi*, which was in DCCCLXIV; and in another to the Church of *Ely* occurrs *Alfthrith REGINA*. [Cart. Antiq. in Arce *Lond.* B. num. 11.] In other Kingdoms of the *Heptarchy* of that Age, the Title of *Regina* was still given to the King's Wives. + *Ego Ælfthrith REGINA* is subscrib'd with *Kenulph* King of *Mercia* in the Subscriptions, [Registr. Wigor. MS. in Bibl. Cott. and *Mon. Angl.* Tom. I. p. 122, &c.] of his Charters to the Church of *Worcester*, and + *Sæthrith*, or *Sethryth*, *REGINA* often subscribes with King *Bertulph* to the same Church. So + *Ego Cynethryth Dei gratia REGINA Merciorum*, in some other, with King *Offa*. And among

of their Kings were neither Crowned, nor stiled *Queens*, nor had other Title than only The *King's Wife* given them. But *Æthelwolf*, detesting that Custom of his Country as altogether Barbarous, having married a Daughter of *France*, omitted not, it seems, to honour her, with all the Dues of Right belonging to a Queen,

among the Coins of that Age in Sir *Rob. Cotton's* Library [see the Excellent Dissertation upon the *Saxon* Coins written and publish'd by the very Curious and Learned Sir *ANDREW FOUNTAINE* at the End of Dr. *HICKS's Thesaurus Linguarum Septentrionalium*, Tab. 3.] is one subscrib'd with CYNEÐRYÐ, (not CENEÐRYD, as Mr. *Selden* reads it) REGIN. and with EOBA, (not EOPA with *Selden*) on the other side. And *Æthelswith*, Daughter to King *Æthelwolf*, frequently subscribes, *Æthelswith REGINA* with *Burghtred* King of *Mercia*, or *Mereland*, in the old Register of *Worcester*. And at her Marriage, saith *Matt. Westm.* [sub an. DCCCLII.] *Reginæ nomen promeruit.* There is also a singular Example of her in the Chartularie of the Abbey [Bibl. *Cotton.* fol. 4. and in Col. Æd. Christi *Oxon.*] of *Abbingdon*, where she alone by Charter gives to one *Cuthwulf* her Servant Lands in *Lacinge*, in these words, ✠ *Ego Æthelswith REGINA, Deo largiente, Merciorum cum consensu meorum seniorum concedens donabo Cuthwulfo, &c.* which is very properly us'd by some [Sir *Ed. Coke* in Præfat. ad lib. IV.] to shew that the Law of *England* then was, that the Queen in this Island might, as at this day, give or contract as a *femme sole*. After King *Edgar*, it seems, the Law of the *West-Saxons* also utterly vanished, and the Wives of the *Saxon* Kings were always stiled *Queens* or *Reginæ*. In an Instrument [Regist. Wigorn. Eccles. vetust. fol. 166. MS. in Bibl. *Cotton.*] that testifies how *Agelwin* Dean of *Worcester* (*Decanus Wigorniensis Ecclesiæ*; so is his Title of that Time, but a Prior and Convent then supply'd what now the Dean and Chapter do) and his Brother *Ordric* gave III Cassats of Land in *Cundicotan* to the Monks there, *Edward the Confessor ad confirmationem sermonum istorum* subscribes, and then his Queen *Edgith* thus; ✠ *Ego Edgith REGINA consentio.* So in a Charter of King *Cnout* to the Abbey of [Cart. 4. Ed. III. num. 58.] *St. Edmondsbury* his Wife *Alfgifa* calls her self, *Ego Alfgifa* (or *Elfgiva*, as in *Monast. Angl.* Tom. I. p. 287.) *REGINA*. and in a Saxon Charter of his to the same Church he styles her [See *Mon. Angl.* Vol. I. p. 288.] myne QUEEN Alfgif, and *REGINA mea Alfgifa* in the *Latin* of it, where he speaks of her giving to the Church a Revenue of 4000 Eeles in Lakinghith. It appears also clearly, that the *Saxon* Queens were always in the latter Times of that Kingdom crowned, anointed, and set with the Kings in their Seats of State, as other Queens, and so that Law or Custom which proceeded from Queen *Eadburg* was soon abrogated.

And

And this understood at home gave there occasion to a great Conspiracy against him.

30. *Æthelbald*, his second Son, being, upon the death of *Æthelstan* his Elder Brother, become Heir Apparent to the Crown, and very acceptable to the People, for that he was a Warlike Prince, and of a great and active Spirit, having drawn unto his Party *Alstane*, Bishop of *Sherburn*, (who was always *Æthelwulf's* Right Hand in Manage of the Affairs of the Kingdom) conspires with him and with *Ealph*, Earl of *Somersets*, to keep his Father out, as one too weak for the present Necessity of the State, and to invest him in the Throne. *Æthelwulf* returns, and finding his Son in Possession, and himself Excluded, (though a Party sufficient of his faithful Subjects offered to have expelled the Usurper and have reinvested him), was not wholly carried with pious Regards, and fearing by a testime Discord to give more opportunity to the Pagan Armies, (who, having got Footing on every side of the Island, began to be very busy about him) descends to divide the Kingdom with *Æthelbald*, and to do it equally, as to leave him the Western Part, which was the principal, and contained all that was properly called *West-Saxony*, contents himself with the Eastern Part, which contained no more than *Kent*, *Sussex* and *Surrey*; and soon after, thinking more of providing for a better Life, and of settling Love and Peace among his Children, by an Hereditary Epistle (saith *Florentius*) he sets out their several Portions, leaving the Kingdom (parted as it was) to his two Eldest Sons; his private Inheritance he distributes among his Children and near Allyes, and his Money partly to them and partly to pious uses, and so dyes about the space of two years after his Return from *Rome*.

Æthelbald conspires.

Æthelwulf's Return.

His Death.

31. The Provision he made for *Elfred* now at his Death, was nothing answerable to the Care he had had of him in his Life Time: yet it appears in the Testament of *Ælfred*, that it was *Æthelwolf's* Will at his Death, that his Sons, that survived, should succeed them

them that died; but that was accidental and nothing certain to *Ælfred*. The truth was (the troublesomness of the Times consider'd) *Ælfred*'s Minority at *Æthelwolf*'s Death was enough to put by any purpose that *Æthelwolf* had of bestowing a Kingdom on him, it being ordinarily (at that time) cause sufficient to prefer the Cousin before the Son, and a base Issue before the Legitimate. So as *Ælfred* was in a manner left unto his Fortune, not being above Nine years old at the time of his Father's Death.

Æthelbald. 32. No sooner was *Æthelwolf* dead, but *Æthelbald*, infamously sharing with him in his Bed, as well as in his Kingdom, marries *Juditha* his Mother-in-Law; and after a short Reign of [1] five years and an half dyes a violent Death, and leaves his part of the Kingdom to his next Brother *Æthelbert*, who being possest of the other Part from his Father, the *West Saxon* Kingdom and the Kingdom of *Kent* became again entired in one, in his Hand. And he likewise Reigning about five years and dying, the Kingdom came to *Æthelred*, [2] the fourth of *Æthelwolf's* Sons.

Æthelbert.

Æthelred.

33. The

1 A MS. Chronicle in the Publick Library at *Oxon.* (Digb. 196.) says five years, and so also *Rob. of Gloucester*, MS. Digb. 205. f. 72. b. *Asser* [pag. 4.] two years and an half. *Ingulfus* two years. *Polydore Vergil* only five months: I suppose from some MS. History that he had seen. For I find no longer time allow'd to his Reign in a MS. which I have consulted in the *Bodlejan* Library, super Art. D. 19. f. 250. a. *Asser* seems to be most exact; for if King *Æthelwolf* return'd from *Rome* in the year DCCCLV, and liv'd about two years after, 'tis plain *Ethelbald* could not Reign above two years and an half: for the *Saxon* Annals tell us, that he died in the next year but two, namely *An. D.* DCCCLX, and that his Body was buried at *Shireburn*. *Thomas Rudburn* [*Hist. Maj.* p. 204. Vol. I. Hist. Sacr.] varies but half a year from the *Saxon* Annals, *Æthelwerd* and *Malmsbury* (who make him to have reign'd five years and an half;) but then he tells us, that two and an half of them were spent in Debauchery, and the Remainder in Virtue and Piety, being perswaded to Repent by the Exhortations of *Swithune* Bishop of *Winchester*. This he had from *Giraldus Cornubiensis de Gestis Regum West-Saxonum*, lib. II. A book which seems now to be lost.

2 The third Son in a MS. of Sir *Ken. Digby's*, n. 196. and in a MS. of Sir *Thomas Bodley's*, super Art. D. 19. f. 250. a. in which 'tis said

33. The Education that *Ælfred* in the mean time had, was, according to the usage of the *Saxon* Nobles, only in Hunting of Wild Beasts, and other Pleasures of the Field; which they the more affected, for that their Children being therewith inured to Labour, Hunger, Watching, Patience and Trial of their Wits, it did both awaken their Industry, and make them the hardier toward the Toleration of any Fortune: but *Ælfred* from growing past those Elements of Manhood, being once come to the Age of 18 years, he began to make Demonstration of so full Maturity, as that his Brother *Æthelbert* (now King) highly esteeming his Assistance, to gain him the more wholly to his Aid in his Wars, promised him, that what Pieces of the Kingdom soever he should by *Ælfred's* Aiding him recover from the Enemy, should be divided equally betwixt them. To which *Ælfred* easily agreeing, from time to time faithfully rendered the King the utmost of his Assistance.

Ælfred active and powerfull.

34. But more Thirsting after Literature than either Possessions or Sovereignty, in secret he laments unto himself the unhappiness of his Country, (indeed of the Age he lived in) that could not to a studious Prince afford one Man that was able to teach him the liberal Arts and Sciences, which he perhaps so much the more affected, for that having seen the Cours of *Rome*, (where, and where only in a manner,[1] Letters then flourished) the simplicity of his Native Country ap-

but addicted to Literature.

---

said that *Æthelwolf* had but four Sons. And *Ælfred* is call'd the fourth Son in a MS. Parchment Roll in the same Library, Arch. A. 189. writ almost 300 years since, and in other MSS. which I have seen.

1 For in Imitation of the old *Romans*, whom we find to have had a great Respect to Learning (and after the Decay thereof in *Ægypt* and *Greece* were only celebrated for it) here were divers Statutes for Encouragement of all those, whether Natives or Strangers, who were studiously inclined; upon which Account we do not read that there was ever any great Interruption since it was first profess'd, however some of the Emperors and Popes were notoriously ignorant, and made it their Business to destroy Literature. See *Middendorp de Academiis* lib. III. p. 415. Colon. MDXCIV. 8vo.

peared

peared as Barbarism in his Eyes, in comparison of the Instructions that *Rome* had put into him. But he that had no Work for him to do, of which he little ever thought, had provided him a School, which, though nothing acceptable in Appearance, was far more proper to enable him for the service that he was to do, than were the Schools of Letters: And that was the School of Travel and Adversity.

The *Danes*. 95. The Land, much wast and weakened with Civil Wars, began abundantly to be annoyed with Flights of Pagan Forreigners, especially the Islands and costerly parts of the Land. For *Germany*, labouring with a surcharge of her own Children, not because that vast Continent was too little for them, but, being wild and overgrown with Woods and Fenns, it could not yield her strength unto the Natives, (who were then careless of Husbandry and of Improvement of their Country:) and therefore from the *Baltic* Sea and other Maritime Parts thereof so plentifully disburthened her self, as that in *England*, and in the Western Parts of *France* and *Spain*, the Countries to the Coasts lay almost wast, by reason of the frequent Incursions of *Danes*, *Norwegians*, *Goths*, *Swedes*, *Frisons*, and others that here promiscuously went by the Name of *Danes*.

Great Arrival. 96. Among the rest, in the year 866, there came a great Fleet of them under the Command of *Hingwar* and *Hubba*, Sons of *Lodebrock*, a *Danish* King, (as he is said to be) and these (if there be no Mistake, and that [1] *Danubius* and *Danubia* be not miswritten for *Dania*,) are expressly said to have come from the *Danube* or *Donaw* hither into *England*. And though I could easily enough believe there were no more intended in the word *Danubia* than only the Country of the *Danes* (as also that *Norici* may be mistaken for *Norwegi*) yet will I not take upon me to determine it so, seeing it may also with probability enough be meant of the River *Danubius*: neither does the Naming of *Lod-*

1 De *Danubio Asser.* & *Flo.* De *Danubia Huntedon.*

brock

[illegible] a *Danish* King very much cross it; because that by a common Name they called all *Danes* that arrived in that sort, of what Country soever they were. And [illegible] the famous *Norman*, who is said to be of the same Nation with these, and came over with them (not long before or after) is expressly said by Nation to be of the *Norici*. Now the *Norici* were a People inhabiting either side of the *Danaeus* about the Head thereof, and there being not far from *Basil*, where the [illegible] grows passable, they might with facility enough find ready passage down the *Rhine*, the Mouth whereof presenteth them full against the Kingdom of the *East-Angles*, in which they first Landed. And then if we understand *Zealand* and the other Islands thereabouts to be the same Islands in which *Lodebroch* went a Hawking, we shall make an Accident concerning him (which we shall hear anon) far more probable than can be, if we take him to have been a Hawking in any Islands in *Denmark*.

27. But whencesoever they were and which way soever they came, they took (as I said) their first Footing in the Kingdom of *East-Angles*, and there, as first dissembling the secret Purpose and Resolution which they had, they agreed with the *E. Angles* that so as they would furnish them with a certain Number of Horse, they without any spoil of the Country would forthwith depart from them, of which the *East-Angles* being glad, so abundantly provided them, as that (saith the Author) their whole Army was on the sudden become all Horse-men. in E. Anglia.

[illegible] *viz.* in the year DCCCLXXIV, according to *Brennan* [Chron. in vita Alfredi.] or DCCCLXXVI, according to *Asser* and the [illegible] Annals. But being warmly receiv'd by King *Ælfred* [See [illegible] of this Book] he went over into *France*, where he settled; though in the time of King *Athelstan* he made a second Expedition into *England*, being called in by that King to Assist him [*Thomas Wigorn's Hypodigma Neustriæ*, sub initium] against some Potent [illegible] that had taken Arms against him, whom after he had vanquish'd, the probable those *Stones*, upon the Borders of *Oxfordshire*, [illegible] might be erected in Memory of the Fact. [illegible] *Plot's Natural History of Oxfordshire*, cap. X. § 81, &c.

38. The

and 8. The use that the *Germans* made of their Horse was much like that the *Britains* did of their little Chariots the *Essedi*; by their speed to get Advantages and to give sudden and unexpected Assaults, of which when once they found the opportunity, their quitting their Horse and casting themselves into the order of a foot Army (which they ever preferred to try their Fortune, in committing their safety rather to their own Manhood, than the Casualty of their Horse) they to (as *Cæsar* speaketh) attained a great Difficulty to have at once both the Speed of Horse men and the Stability of a Foot Army. And this Kind of mixed Practice aptly served the Turn of these Rovers: for their War being mostly Inroads, Foraging, and Spoil, subject to Skirmishes and unexpected Preparations, this Changeable Service was agreeable to their uncertain Occasions. But for service on Horseback, (it had been unpossible for the Champion and Coasterly Parts of the Kingdom (where they Landed) to furnish such Numbers of them with Horses, for Strength and Manage fitting for the Occasions of the Field: neither had these Kind of People that Manner of service in Practice. So that whereas it often occurs in the stories of these Rovers, that they got Horse and became Horse men, we must understand it, only for their Speedy Transport, and that their Service was like their Ancestors for the most part ever on Foot. The manner is somewhat to this day to be observed in the *German* Wars in the Service of the Horsemen called *Dragooners*.

Anno 867. They surprise *York*.

39. The *Danes* being thus furnished, in the Beginning of the year following, suddenly, [1] and unsuspect of any such Design, march to *York*, and by surprise possess

1 They took this Occasion to invade *Northumberland*, not doubting of Success from these Civil Dissensions between the two Kings. But because *John Bromton* [*Chron.* col. 802, 803.] hath given us a quite different Relation of the Cause of this Invasion upon the *Northumbers* from other Authors, which Sir *John Spelman* has not taken notice of, I shall put down the whole Story at large as I find it there told. "It seems *Osbert* King of *Northumberland*, who had "his

his Residence at *York*, going one day a hunting in a Forrest not far distant, in his Return call'd at the House of one of his Principal Nobles nam'd *Bruern Brocard*, to Refresh himself. *Bruern* knowing nothing of the King's Coming, was gone to the Sea-side, according to his Custom, to secure the Shore against Pyrats. However his Wife, who was a Lady of Incompareable Beauty, and Adorn'd with all the Accomplishments due to her Sex, entertain'd the King at Dinner very Splendidly. *Osbert* was so charm'd with her Wonderful Beauty and Carriage, that, Dinner being ended, he took her by the Hand, and led her to her Chamber, upon pretence of some secret Business of great Importance, being attended to the Door by some of his own Servants, (who were only privy to the Design,) where by Force and Violence he lay with her. Having thus had his Will, he speedily return'd to *York*, whilst she so lamented and wept, that her Face was extremely alter'd; which caus'd her Husband at his Return to ask the Cause of so sudden a Change, and such an unusual Sadness? Whereupon she told him the whole Matter, how the King had forced her. Which having heard, he comforted her, bidding her not to afflict her self, since she was not able to resist a Man of so great Power; assuring her, because she had told him the Truth, he would not love her less than he had done before; and if God gave him leave, he would Revenge both himself, and her, upon him that had Committed the Crime. Immediatly after this he sends for all his Kindred and Allies, to whom he Reveal'd the Affront put upon him, and his Intention speedily to Revenge it. To which they all Consenting, and Approving his Purpose, he with them took Horse and rode to *York*. The King, upon Sight of him, call'd him to him very Civilly; but he, having all his Relations at his back, defied him, renouncing his Allegiance, giving up his Land, and whatsoever else he held of him. This done, without any more words, he withdrew, making no Stay at all at Court. So taking Leave of his Friends, he Sail'd strait ways into *Denmark*, where he made a great Complaint to *Godrin*, King of the Country, of the Affront offer'd to him and his Wife by *Osbert*, desiring his speedy Relief and Supplies to put him into a Capacity to Revenge himself. At this News, *Godrin* and his *Danes* were very glad, having now some Occasion to induce them to invade the *English*, and Revenge the Injury offer'd to *Bruern*, who was descended of his Blood; whereupon raising a vast Army and Navy, he appointed for his Commanders *Hinguar* and *Hubba*, who Landed in the Northern Parts, and, taking their way thro' *Holderness*, destroy'd all the Towns with their Inhabitants; and coming to *York* provok'd *Osbert* to come out and fight them, where he was slain with *Ella* his Brother King; as is here related by our Author. From which Account we may learn that *Roderick* was at most but *Regulus*, or a Petty-King, the chief King being *Godrin*.

seise themselves of that City; but being hardly allayed by the two Kings of *Northumbria*, (*Ella* and *Osbert*) who in the common Danger had laid aside their private Quarrel, and joyning together against the publick Enemy, had broken the Walls of the City; the *Danes* then pressed with Despair (that doubles the Spirits which Fear at first takes from one) issued forth, slew both the Kings and most of the Nobility, and forced the Residue to the Conclusion of a Dishonourable Peace. That done, they thence descend the year following to *Nottingham*, within the Kingdom of *Mercia*, where *Burrhed* the King, distrusting of his own sole Resistance against so great an Enemy, solliates *Ethelred* and *Alfred* (whose Sister he had married) to give him Aid against them. This they readily affording him, came with a fair Army in great Expedition to *Nottingham*; but the Enemy being secure there by the strength of the Place that was not to be forced, and refusing to be drawn to venture Battle, all that the Brothers could do was to procure an Accord between *Burrhed* and them, and so returned with their Army:

869. Return to *York*. 40. The Pagans [1] return again to *York*, and there by the space of an whole year entertain themselves in all licentious

[1] The Saxon Annals do not mention these Cruelties of the *Danes* at *York*; but *Mat. Westminster* is very particular in them, telling us that they slew both young and old, not sparing the Lives or Chastities so much as of the Nuns; and amongst the rest he gives us a strange Example of an Heroick (if not too great a) Love of Chastity. For *Ebba*, (afterwards Sainted) then Abbess of *Coldingham* Nunnery in *York-shire*, being more afraid of the Loss of her Virginity, than her Life, calling her Nuns into the Chapter-House, made there a most Pathetical Speech to them, setting forth the Lust and Cruelty of the *Danes*, and also exhorting them to follow her Example in avoiding it; which they all unanimously promising to observe, she then took a Razour, and cut off her own Nose and Upper Lip, in which she was immediatly followed by all the Sisters; which being done, those Cruel Tyrants coming thither the next day with their Forces, and seeing so horrible a Spectacle, they not only ran out of the Monastery and left them, but also gave order to their Followers, that they should set the House on Fire, which was punctually put in execution: so it was burnt to Ashes, together with the Abbess,

licentious and inhumane Cruelties, riotting in the Blood of Men, Women and Children, and making Spoil as well as Prey of every Thing that came unto their Hands. And their Body being then encreased by the Accession of many Thousands, and driving themselves by their Wast from staying any longer there, they the next Summer set fire on the Town, and so leaving it 870. Thence into *East-Anglia*.

enter the Kingdom of the *E. Angles*.

41. Now were they both provided and resolved to execute a long intended and dissembled Revenge upon the

---

Abbess, and all her Nunns, who thought themselves happy in thus suffering Martyrdom for the Preservation of that which was dearer to them than their Lives. Nor did they discharge their Fury upon this Nunnery alone, but upon all the other Monasteries in the Kingdom of *Northumberland*, having not long before destroyed the Monastery and Church of *Lindisfarne*, with those of *Girwy* and *Wiremuth*, besides the famous Nunneries of *Streanshalc* and *Tinmouth*; most of which were never afterwards rebuilt, and those that were not till several Ages after.

1 Hop pa̓ he here ofer Myrce mman Estr-Engle. and here pintep rcel naman æt Deoppopa. And þy pintep rce. Eadmund cyning him rpð pleah. ⁊ þa Denirc un rige mannum ⁊ hone ofrlog rce. Eadmund ofrlogon. ⁊ þ lond eall rceo-don. ⁊ rlon-dæl ealle þa rumre þa hi to comen. On þa-lean timan þa comon hi to Medeham rcere. beorndon and bræcon. ⁊ logon abbot ⁊ munecas. and eall þ hi pæp funden. Macedon hit þa ⁊ æp pæp ful mice. þa hit peapð to nan þing. So the *Saxon Annals*. But since they, as well as our Author, are too concise in the Affairs of this Year, I shall give you a more particular and exact Relation of their Cruelties before the Martyrdom of King *Edmund*, from *Ingulfus*, who tells us [pag. 14. Ed. *Oxon.*] That Winter being ended, the *Danes* took Shipping and went into *Lindisse* in *Lincolnshire*, and Landing at *Humberstan*, spoiled all that Country, at which time the famous and ancient Monastery of *Bardney* was destroyed, the Monks and all others being massacred in the Church without Mercy; and when they had stayed there all Summer, wasting the Country, they at last came into *Kesteven*, in the same Province, where they committed the like Murders and Desolations. Upon which Count *Algar* drew together all the Youth of *Holland*, with two Knights his Seneschals, call'd *Wibert* and *Leofric*, who marched in the Head of them, together with a brave Body of 200 Men belonging to *Croyland* Abbey, who being all stout lusty Fellows, were led by one *Toly*, then a Monk, but formerly a famous Souldier among the *Mercians*. These taking with them about 300

ſtout and warlike Men more from *Deping*, *Lanoſt*, and *Boſton*, (to whom alſo joyned *Morchar*, Lord of *Brunne*, with his ſtrong and numerous Family) and being met by the Sheriff of *Lincoln*, (a valiant and ancient Souldier,) with the *Lincolnſhire* Forces, they muſter'd togethes in *Keſteven* on St. *Maurice's* day, gave the Pagans Battle, vanquiſh'd them, with the Slaughter of three of their Kings, and a great number of Common Souldiers, and afterwards purſued them to their very Camp, where finding a ſtout Reſiſtance, Night at laſt parted them, and the Earl drew back his Army. But it ſeems the ſame Night there returned to the *Daniſh* Camp all the reſt of the Princes of that Nation, who dividing the Country among them, had marched out to plunder. Their Names are Barbarous, and too many to be all particularly mention'd, but their chief Kings were *Godrum* and *Baſeg*, and their Earls or Leaders *Hinguar* and *Hubba*, with others, who then came very ſeaſonably with great Forces, a multitude of Captives, and a great deal of Spoil. Their Return being known, the greateſt part of the *Chriſtians* ſtruck with Terrour fled away; whilſt thoſe that were left, early in the Morning, after hearing divine Service, and receiving the Sacrament, being reſolved to dye for *Chriſt*, and in Defence of their Country, marched into the Field againſt their Enemies: but the Earl, perceiving his Forces to be too much weaken'd, appointed *Peyet Toly* with his five Hundred Men to fight in the Right Wing, becauſe they were the ſtrongeſt; and Earl *Morchar* with thoſe that followed him, as alſo the Sheriff of *Lincoln*, making other five Hundred Men, in the Left Wing; reſolving himſelf, with his Seneſchals, to keep the Main Body, as being moſt convenient for aſſiſting either Wing if there were occaſion. The *Danes* being now exaſperated at the ſlaughter of their Men, (having buried their three Kings at a place then call'd *Laundon*, but afterwards from this Burial *Trokyngham*,) two of their Kings and eight Counts march'd out, whilſt the reſt guarded the Camp and Captives. But the *Chriſtians*, becauſe of the ſmalneſs of their Number, drawing themſelves up in one Body, made with their Shields a ſtrong *Teſtudo* againſt the Force of their Enemies Arrows, and kept off the Horſe with their Pikes. And thus, being well ordered by their Commanders, they kept their Ground all day; but Night coming on, notwithſtanding 'till then they had remain'd unbroken, and had withſtood the Force of their Enemies Arrows, whoſe Horſes being tired began to flag; yet they very imprudently left an intire Victory to the Pagans. For they feigning a Flight on purpoſe, ſeem'd to quit the Feild; which the *Chriſtians* had no ſooner perceiv'd, however their Commanders forbid and oppoſed it, than they broke their Ranks, and were all diſpers'd through the Plain without any Order or Command. So that the Pagans returning like Lions upon a Flock of Sheep, made a moſt prodigious Slaughter amongſt them; whilſt the ſtout Count *Algar*, and Friar *Toly*, with ſome Souldiers, getting upon a riſing Ground, and being drawn up into a round Body, did for a long time endure their Inſults, till at laſt the ſaid Earl and other Captains, ſeeing the ſtouteſt Men of their

their small Army slain, got upon the thickest Heaps of the *Christians* dead Bodies, and, being resolv'd to sell their Lives as dear as they could, after having receiv'd many Wounds, died honourably in the Field. There now only remain'd a few Young Men of *Sutton* and *Gedeney*; but these flinging away their Arms, fled into a Neighbouring Wood, and by that means escaping came the Night following to the Monastery of *Croyland*, where they related the Slaughter of the *Christians*, and the Loss of their whole Company: which when they had told at the Church Door with great Lamentations, the Abbot and Monks, being extremely confounded at this ill News, resolv'd to keep with them only the Elder Monks, and some few small Children to provoke Compassion, and so sent away all the Younger Men, together with the Reliques, Jewells, and Charters of their Monasterie, by Boat to the Wood of *Ancaryg*, adjoining to their Island; where they staid with one *Toret* an Anchorite four Days, being thirty in number, whereof ten were Priests. But the Abbot with the rest of his Brethren, (after they had hid the rest of the Plate, with the rich Table of the Altar) expecting nothing less than to be made a Sacrifice to the Fury of the Enemy, put on their sacred Vestments, said Mass and Communicated; which they had scarce finished, when the Pagans breaking into the Church, slew Abbot *Theodore* at the Altar, who perished by the Hands of their King *Osketule*. After which they proceeded to dispatch the rest, which they did in so butcherly a manner, that there was not of old or young any that escap'd, except one handsome Boy of about ten Years old, who (being intended for a Monk) was saved by Count *Sidroc* the younger, who strip'd him of his Habit, put on him a *Danish* Coat, and ordered him to follow him wherever he went. When they had made an end of the Slaughter, they broke open the Tombs of *St. Guthlac*, and the Princes there buried; but finding a far more inconsiderable Plunder than they expected, they set the Church on Fire, and burnt the dead Bodies that were in it together. Four days after the Destruction of *Croyland*, the *Danes* march'd towards the Monastery of *Medeshamsted*, since call'd *Peterborough*, where finding the Gates lock'd, they began to make an Assault upon it; but receiving a Repulse, at the second Assault *Tuba* the Brother of Count *Hubba* was knock'd down with a Stone and carried off for Dead; whereat *Hubba* was so enraged, that breaking into the Monastery he slew all the Monks that came in his way, whilst the rest of them destroy'd the other's, 'till at last all perish'd. So that, in short, the Monastery and the Church with the Charters belonging to them were wholly destroy'd, together with a noble Library of Books which was reduc'd to Ashes. When they had continued here the space of four days, they got together all the Spoil they could and march'd towards *Huntington*; but in their way thither, as the two Counts *Sidroc* brought up the Rear of their Army, which had now passed the River *Nene*, two Waggon Loads of Rich Moveables happen'd to be sunk in the Ford, as also the Beasts that drew them, in getting out of which whilst the younger *Sidroc* and his Men were

the Perſon of a Prince altogether innocent and deſerving the contrary, and had entred the place where their bloudy Intention was to be performed. The Matter briefly was thus.

Lodebroch. 42. *Lodebroch*, of whom we ſpake, being ſomewhere beyond Sea on Hawking among certain ſmall Iſlands in a little Boat with only a Dog with him, was by the violence of a ſudden Tempeſt carried out to Sea, and caſt upon the Coaſt of *Eaſt-Anglia* in ſome part not far from *Yarmouth* in *Norfolk*; where coming ſafe to Land, and preſented to *Edmund*, then King of the *E. Angles*, the Faſhion of the Man, the ſtrange Fortune of his Arrival, and his Dexterity in all Manner of Sports, made the King ſo much delight in him, that his Falconer one *Bern* envying of it, while they were together one day in a Wood, ſecretly (as is believed) murthered him, and coming home makes ſtrange what was become of him. Within a day or two *Lodebroch*'s Dog comes to the King's Houſe half famiſh'd, and being fed, was preſently gone again; but coming ſoon after upon the ſame Er-

---

buſied, the Boy *Turgar* ſlipt away into the next Wood, and walking all Night about break of Day he got to *Croyland*, where he found the Monks return'd again, and very active in quenching the Fire as well as they could; to whom he related all that had happened, and diſcovering where the Body of the Abbot and moſt of the Monks lay, they removed the Rubbiſh, and buried them. This done, they firſt choſe *Godric*, one of the Monks that eſcaped, for Abbot, and then reſolv'd to go, and do the like pious Office for the late Priot and Monks of *Medeshamſted*; where arriving, they buried the Bodies of above fourſcore Monks in one Grave in the Church-Yard, placing over them a Pyramidal Stone of about a yard high, whereon were carved the Images of the Abbot and Monks about him, which was to be ſeen in the time of *Ingulfus*. In the mean time the *Danes* ſpoiling the Country as far as *Grant-bridge* (now *Cambridge*) they then fell upon, and burnt the famous Nunnery of *Ely*, killing all that were therein both Men and Women, and carrying away a great deal of Riches, which had been brought thither from all Parts for their better ſecurity, they paſs'd over thence into the Country of the *Eaſt-Angles*, where they ſlew Earl *Wilkmund*, who came againſt and ſtoutly reſiſted them. And now meeting with little or no oppoſition they march'd againſt King *Edmund* himſelf, who being overthrown was martyr'd by them in the manner related by our Author.

rand,

rand, and watched by the King's Command, he brought them to the dead Body. The Circumstances by the King's especial care being examined, *Bern* is judged guilty of the Fact, and condemned to be put into the same Boat in which *Lodebroch* arrived, and so without Food or Tackle to be committed to the Mercy of the Sea: which being done, Fortune iterated the Accident, and as safely delivered *Bern* on the other side as it had brought *Lodebroch* hither. The Boat arriving in the same Parts from whence it first came, was presently known, and *Bern* being prest to tell what was become of the Owner, told them how he had arrived in *E. Anglia*, and was there slain by the Command of K. *Edmund*.

43. Upon this his Sons *Hinguar* and *Hubba*, vowing the Revenge of their Father's Death, came with such an Army as they could make into *E. Anglia*: but finding themselves too weak then to grapple with the power of the King, they made use of the Present as you have heard, and timing it out in other Parts till (with the Adherence of divers of their Nation) they were grown a mighty Number, they then again enter *E. Anglia*, and by their Outrages and Cruelties declare the purpose of their Coming, abusing nevertheless the King with Treaties while their Forces were drawing down together. The King seeing the long gathering Storm fall so full upon him, contrary to the Perswasion of his Nobles, prepares to meet them, and being forced in some place about *Thetford* to give Battel before he could be ready, was overthrown, his Army cut in pieces, himself taken, and in Contempt of Christianity first stripp'd and whipp'd, and in the end tyed to a Stake and shot to death with Arrows. K. *Edmund* slain.

44. The Exceeding Piety and Devotion of this King accompanied with such a Death caused him to be Canonized for a Saint and a Martyr, and to have had one of the goodliest Monasteries in all the Eastern Parts of this Kingdom dedicated to his Honour.

45. But so deadly was the Blow that was given in this Overthrow of K. *Edmund* as that the Kingdom of *the*

Angles expiring therewithal, the Country thenceforth became the Footing and Poſſeſſion of the *Danes*, in which they after planted and inhabited. But theſe Victors, minding nothing leſs than Setling and Plantation, made every year new Inroads into ſeveral Parts of the Land, and in their Courſe of Prey and Rapine in
871. the year 871. came to *Reading* in *Berkſhire*, a Town of the proper Demeaſns of the Kings of *Weſt-Saxons*. So as the School of War, which *Ælfred* and his Brother ſought erewhile abroad, was now brought home unto them to their very Doors.

46. This year their arrives another Flight of *Danes*, as it were (ſaith *Huntingdon*) a mighty Floud under the Conduct of two other Leaders *Bagſeg* and *Haldene*. Theſe being a very great Army ſtood a while by themſelves as it were upon their own Deſign; but upon further Conſideration they at laſt joyned with the former and came to *Reading*, where they took the Town and the Caſtle. And then cutting a great Croſs Trench between the *Kennet* and the *Thames*, (ſo that in a manner they made an Iſland of the place) they there with part of their Army kept their Works, and another part they ſent abroad under the Command of two of their Earls to forrage and overrun the Rich Level that lyes between the two Rivers; but they being met withal at *Engleſeild* by the Earl of *Berkſhire* [1] were overthrown and one of the Earls ſlain.

The *Danes* take *Reading*.

47. In the mean time *Æthelred* the King aſſiſted with his Brother *Ælfred* made all the Speed they could to aſſemble their People, and with an Army came down to *Reading* within ſeven Days after that the *Danes* had taken it; and like Men in their firſt Heat (both being young and their Army freſh) they force the Out-works and Paſſages, and made a great Diſcomfiture of the diſordered Enemy, ſlaughtering on every hand thoſe they met withal, and none eſcaping their Fury except they could recover the Town or Caſtle before them.

They are beſieged.

1 Whoſe Name was *Ethelwulf* or *Eadulf*. See more of him in Sir *Will. Dugdale's Baronage*, Vol. I. pag. 16.

48. There

48. There when they had beaten the Enemy into his Holds thinking themselves sure of him, and not warily enough considering that there were too many enured to be long pent up either in the Town or Castle, while they with too much Security relyed on that Advantage, the Enemy from Despair grew desperate, and brake forth upon them with that unexpected Resolution, and Audacity, that they much daunted the King's Party; yet along time they maintained the Conflict with equal Fortune, 'till at last, many of the *West Saxons* being slain, and among them the valiant Earl of *Berk shire*, the Residue in divers places began to incline, and in the end betook them all to flight. But touched with sense of that Dishonour, and full of Stomach to recover their lost Repute, they all again within four Days (with great forwardness and alacrity) assemble in a place called [1] *Ashdowne*, not far from *Reading*, whither the *Dane* (puft up with his late success, new reinforced with Men, and now as forward to fight as the *Saxons*) had drawn down with his whole Body, and divided himself into two parts, the one under the Command of their two Kings, the other of their Earls. Force their Besiegers and come to *Ashdowne*.

49. *Æthelred* observing the Course of the Enemy, divides likewise his Forces into two Battalions, the one for himself to lead against the Kings, the other for his Brother *Alfred* to conduct against the Earls. The Day being come, and both sides eager for the Fight, while *Æthelred*, being yet at service in his Tent, would not for any Alarms be brought like [2] *Saul* to break off his Devotions, (saying that while he lived no worldly occasion should make him forsake the Service of *Æthelred's* Preparation and Devotion.

[1] Now *Aston* as is commonly allow'd. And that is the Opinion of Mr. *Leland* in his MSS. Collections, Vol. I. f. 199. a. Yet Dr. [*Parochial Antiquities*, p. 35.] says *Ashendon* in the Forrest of Bernwood in *Buckinghamshire*. He might perhaps as well have said *Ashmore* near *Henley* in *Oxfordshire*. Dr. *Talbot* seems to have been of Opinion, that 'twas *Aschdune* Forrest in *Southsex*, as I gather from some MSS. Notes of his preserv'd by Mr. *Leland*, in Coll. MSS. Vol. II. f. 194. b.

[2] 1 *Sam.* XIV.

God)

God) the *Danish* Army so far provoked the Heat and Youth of *Alfred* with their Braves, that having long attended his Brother's Coming, and not able longer to endure their Provocation, while the King was not yet ready to second him, he joined Battle with them, and though it were with the Disadvantage of the Place (for the *Danes* had the upper Ground) he alone for a good while maintained a hard Encounter with them. But at last the odds of Place and Number being both so much against him, his Men began a little to decline and give Ground: which the Enemy perceiving and hard pursuing his Advantage, *Alfred*'s Army was in a manner put to flight, when *Ethelred* (whose coming *Alfred* thought could not have been so late) at last appearing, and opportunely Rendring his *Saxons* their due Succour, so well Restored *Alfred*'s Army, and overthrew the Fortune of the *Danes*, that after a mighty Slaughter of them the Residue were put to flight.

Alfred's Heat and Rashness.

The *Danes* are overthrown.

50. In this Battle were slain [1] *Bagseg* one of their Kings, and five of their Earls, by name the two *Sidrocks*, *Osbern*, *Frene* and *Harold*. As for the Number of the slain, we seldom in those times meet with any mention, neither yet with the Numbers of the Armies; but that we may know it was a very great overthrow, the *Christians* slew Thousands of them (saith *Asser*) and had the Chace and Spoil of the Rest over all the Forrest and Champion of *Ashdowne* [2], and the Country thereabouts, both that day and the next, 'till they got again into the Town of *Reading*.

51. Howsoever the King's Tardiness made *Alfred* seem to have had the Overthrow, and the Victory to have followed the King, yet an old Poët, cited by Mr. *Camden* in his Description of *Reading*, looking nearer perhaps into the Deed of either than we are able now to do, ascribes the Victory unto *Alfred*, where speaking of *Reading* he saith,

1 So *Brompton* [col. 809.] and *Matt. Westminster* [sub an. 871.] tell us both their Kings were slain.

2 Per totam campestrem *Æscedun* latitudinem. *Asser.*

Redingum

Redingum *nitidum*, *texendis nobile pannis*.
Hoc docet Ælfredi nostri victricia signa,
Regiscegi *cædem*, *calcata cadavera* Dani;
Utque superfuso maduerunt sanguine campi.

But this Victory (rather a Presage of the Manner of *Alfred*'s future Success than any real Progress of the present Affairs) was instantly crossed with an Overthrow of the *Christians* within 14. Days after at *Basing* in *Hampshire*, where the King and *Ælfred* were both again overthrown of the same Enemy, having had his Companies reinforced with fresh Supplies: as likewise with another overthrow at [1] *Mertune* (or *Merdun* by the *Devises* in *Wiltshire*) where the *Danes*, being routed and chaced by them, again recollected themselves and got the Victory of the *Saxons*. But most of all was it crossed by the great Supplies of the Enemy with a new Income of their Country-Men, who arriving from Forreign Parts upon the Close of these two last Victories joined themselves unto them. And to give better opportunity to their Fortune (which now they were well provided to entertain,) *Æthelred* (the only King that made Head against them) dyes [2] of a Wound he

The *Saxons* overthrown at *Basing* and at *Merdun*.

Æthelred dyeth.

1 Some say *Merton* in *Surrey*. See the Account of Places at the End of Dr. *Gibson*'s Edition of the *Saxon Annals*. Others *Mertune* in *Oxfordshire*, particularly Dr. *Plot*, [*Nat. Hist. of Oxfordshire*, cap. X. §. 77.] and Dr. *Kennet*, [*Parochial Antiq.* p. 36.] who lay great stress upon a *Danish* Spur found here, which is now to be seen in the Physick-School at *Oxford*; but since this is but a very indifferent Argument, (there having been several of these Spurs found in other Places of *England*,) and since most of our Historians place it in *Wilts*, I cannot very readily yield to either, especially the latter of these Opinions.

2 He died at *Wittingham* and was buried at *Wimborn* in *Dorsetshire*, where before the Civil Wars was a Plate with this Inscription: *IN HOC LOCO QUIESCIT CORPUS SANCTI ÆTHELDREDI REGIS WEST-SAXONUM, MARTYRIS, QUI ANNO DOMINI DCCCLXXII. XXIII. DIE* [Mr. *Camden*, Brit. pag. 158. *Ed. alt.* omits *die*] APRILIS *PER MANUS* DANORUM. *PRO LANORUM OCCUBUIT*. But *Asser*, the *Saxon Annals*, *Florence of Worc. &c.* tell us 'twas *Anno* 871. that he died in; who are rather to be believed, because the Inscription seems to be modern.

received

received at *Merden*, having by the Space of 5 years performed the office of a very brave Prince.

Anno 871. æt. *Ælf.* 22. *Ælfred* succeedeth.

52. *Æthelred* being dead, it was now *Ælfred*'s turn to succeed, both by the will of *Æthelwolf* their Father, and likewise by the Appointment of the last King *Æthelred*. For before that *Æthelred* came to the Crown there had been Treaty between him and *Ælfred* concerning their two Fortunes. And *Æthelred* in the Presence of divers of the Nobility (acknowledging *Ælfred*'s Right in certain Demeasns left him by his Father, which were then it seems withholden from him) gave his faithful word, that if ever he came to be King he would not only permit *Ælfred* quietly to enjoy the Lands bequeathed him, but further would make him sharer with himself of all such Territories as with his Help he should at any time recover from the Enemy. Yet afterwards when the Crown fell unto *Æthelred*, and that with *Ælfred*'s Assistance he had got divers Pieces to the Crown, being then demanded by *Ælfred* to perform the Agreement, *Æthelred* refused, alledging Reasons that he could break nothing of what he had, but as he kept all entire, so at his Death he would (if *Ælfred* survived) leave all entirely to him. And *Ælfred* though still delayed in his Right (yet contenting himself) did nevertheless faithfully assist *Æthelred* in all occasions of the Kingdom, so long as *Æthelred* lived: but when at his Death the Crown should have made *Ælfred* Satisfaction for all his Sufferings under his several Brothers, that mightily shaken, and in present Danger to be rent in Pieces, fell as short in performing the long expected Recompence as his Brother's Promises had formerly done. So as *Ælfred*, though with the great Instance and labouring of the Arch-Bishop and Nobles of *West Saxony*, and with the Earnest Suit of the Commons (whose present Condition required to have an able Man in the Throne, and they him above all other) was yet but unwillingly prevailed withal to take the Government upon him: but at last, preferring the Necessity of the State before his own Likeing

Likeing, he did accept thereof. And accordingly was the second time Crowned at *Winchester* to the great Joy and Satisfaction of the Commons. This was (indeed) the thing that they especially desired; but as for the King it was entertained by him with no other Affection than as an inevitable Diversion from the Pursuit of his Dearer Contentments. It was an assured Ingageing of him in infinite Broyles. So at the best, it was rather an Entertainment of a Title, than an Acceptance of a Crown. For the Strength of the Enemy considered, the Kingdom was more to be expected from his own Virtues, than the Favour and Election of the Commons: and indeed so difficult was the Redemption of the Crown from out the Weak Estate it now was in, as that howsoever Courage failed not the King, yet was there in Appearance neither Way nor Means that might make the Recovery of it probable, this very year having in eight Set Battles (beside Skirmishes) well nigh exhausted the Forces of the *Saxons*. As for the Enemy, he (like *Hydra's* Heads as oft renewing as cut off) was ready again with a fresh Charge to give him Welcome to the Crown.

53. The King's Hand was now at the Plough, and his Fortunes lay upon it, there was no looking back, neither was there any Difficult in what he had to chose. He had only to hazard whether he would be overthrown or devoured, and therefore assembling all the Power he could make (which came too unequally short of the Number of the Enemy) he was constrained, before he had yet been King a Month, to take the Field yet once more in the same Year against the whole Power of the *Danes*, who, gathering on *Wilton* Hills in *Wiltshire*, in great Pride now sought who durst incounter with them. Thither be *Ælfred* repaired, and joyning Battle with them, Fortune for the greatest Part of the

Raiseth an Army.

The Battle of *Wilton*.

1. Chron. MS. de Regibus *Ang.* in man. illust. com. *Arundel.*
2. *Æthelwerd* [lib. IV. c. 3.] seems to intimate, that *Ælfred*, being taken up in providing for the Ceremonies of his Brother's Funeral, was not in this Battle.

Day

Day dealt her self indifferently between them, toward the end inclined to the King; so that he put them all to flight: but then turning, while the *Saxons*, with too much desire of performing their Work, over eagerly pursued their Success (their Inequality more appearing in the Chace, than it had before done in the Battle) the *Danes* recollected themselves, and setting afresh upon the tired *Saxons* robbed them of the Victory, when they were in a manner possessed of it.

The King is overthrown.

14. What was the Execution then done by the *Danes*, appeareth not, but the overthrow they gave was (it seems) not very great; and though they were reputed to have the better Title to the Victory, yet might it well enough be a Question whose indeed it was. For *when Alfred* carried the Matter, he found the means to bring the Victors to the Conclusion of a Peace, and upon such Terms as, that they themselves should, notwithstanding their Victory, forthwith withdraw and depart out of his Dominion.

and conditioneth with the *Danes*.

15. For all this the *Danes* discerned that they were grown the Masters of the Field, and all things in a manner began to be at their Discretion, (which was enough with them to have driven away the Regard of any Agreement) but whether their hard Escape so lately out of *Alfred*'s Hands yet stuck by them, or whether their Eye, fixed elsewhere, drew them another way, they, adotting to their Agreement, left *West-Saxons*, and

They come to *London*. 872.

came to *London*, which (though properly within the Precincts of the Kingdom of *East-Saxons*) was at that time under the obedience of *Burthred* King of *Mercia*, or *Middle-Saxons*, and has from thence ever since reckoned within the County of *Middlesex*. There they winter, and, notwithstanding their Peace formerly made with *Burthred*, they spoiled his Country all thereabout. Then made they Peace with him the second Time, and, leaving *London*, went and wintered at *Torksey*

Thence to *Torksey*. 873. Æt. 24. Reg. 1.

in *Lindsey*, in the North part of *Lincolnshire*, within the Kingdom of the *Northumbrians*; but those parts having been too much wasted to hold them long, they

the

the year following went from thence to *Repton* in *Derbyshire* within the Kingdom of *Mercia*, where, for all their Peace with *Burhed*, they again make Havock of his Country during the time of their Wintering there. Three several times did they make Composition with him, and yet so continually infested his Country the whilst, as in the end they drave him to forsake it, and go to *Rome*, where dying they entirely possest themselves thereof, and gave it to one *Godwolfe* (an Infamous *Renegado* of the *Saxons*) to hold it only at their Discretion. Thence to *Repton* A. 874. and expell *Burhed.*

56. There was not now of all the *Saxon-Heptarchy* but only the *West Saxons* that could any more oppose against their Power, and even they (though at this time the most potent, and in whom the *Danes* had ever found the greatest Resistance) being with continual Travels overlaid, and forced, after nine set Battles in one year given, to give way to the infinite Supplyes of the Invader. As for the Kingdoms of the *East-Angles*, of the *Northumbrians* and the *Mercians*, they were now in a manner either depopulate, or in absolute Subjection to the *Danes*, who in every place abounded, and, no where awed or checked by any Power of the Natives, grown rich to the height, many of them preparing now to settle and inhabit the places that before they had but only prey'd upon. For by this time they discern'd from their own Experience, that when they had destroured all the People, upon whose Labours they had lived before, they must in the end set down and begin to learn to labour for themselves.

57. This year also there was an Excessive Income of more of this Kind of People, under the Command of three Kings, *Gothrum*, *Osferth* and *Amund*, that were but newly come unto them whilst they were at *Repton*; and therefore finding their Body too big to live together in one place (were it by Industry or by Rapine) they divide themselves into several Parts, and divers of them under the Command of *Halfdane* in the Year

875.

875. æt. 26. Reg. 3. 875. return into the Country of the *Northumbrians*, and soon possessing that which (as we said) was before subdued, they part it among themselves and settle there, preying the whiles upon the *Picts*, the [1] *Straduttons*, and Natives round about them.

58. The last *Danes* that came over with the three Kings (under the name of which went as many of the others as listed) being free of the Articles concluded betwixt *Ælfred* and the former, hovering up and down in the Kingdom of *Mercia*, came the same year to *Cambridge*, and timing out the Residue of that Year there, they the next Year rise from thence by night, and went and surprised the strong Castle and Nunnery of *Wereham* upon the Rive *Were* in *Dorsetshire* in the Kingdom of *West-Saxony*. And thither as to a convenient Road they bring down the Shipping that they came over in.

The *Danes* surprise *Wereham*. 876. æt. 26. Reg. 4.

59. This set so hard to the King, as it put him to seek a Peace and a Composition with them. Which upon what Terms soever obtained, was with that Caution, that these likewise as well as the other should depart out of his Kingdom and wholly abstain from his Territories, and the Conditions being agreed on, the Peace was, in the most Sacred Form of Religion then in Use, Ratified and Confirmed by the Solemn [2] Oaths of the Pagans upon the Holy Reliques of the Church, the great Confidence of King *Ælfred*, (saith the Book) not that he thought the Infidels would make so great a Conlu-

The King compounded for their Departure.

Their solemn Oath and

1 They are call'd in the *Saxon Annals* Sc̄næcleopeallar, and Sc̄næcleopeallar. by *Matt. Wesm. Wallenses*: by *Florence* of *Worc. Straidmenses*: and by *Æthelwerd*, *Cumbri*. They were certain *Britains* [see *Somner's* Lexicon.] sometime inhabiting *Galloway* in *Scotland*, but were driven thence by the *Picts* into *Wales*, where they seated themselves about the Banks and Borders of the River *Cluid*.

2 The most solemn Manner of Swearing, amongst the *Danes* and other Northern Nations, was by their Arms, as appears from *M. Adamus*, [*Eccles. Hist.* lib. I. cap. 33.] *Olaus Magnus*, [lib. 8. c. 2.] and the Annals of *Fulda* [sub an. DCCCLXXIII.] But since they had broke these Oaths already, K. *Ælfred* forced them to swear upon the most sacred Reliques of the Church.

ence

ence of them, nor had he 'till then ever admitted them to swear upon them; but being now as it were in his last Plunge, and not expecting any other Help, his only Hope was, That if in this they brake their Faith with him, God himself would even in them assuredly punish such a solemn Perjury.

60. They having sworn the Peace, without any Difficult gave him what Hostages he did demand, and presently, like right Barbarians, without Regard of Faith, or Oath, or Pledges given, or so much as a Colour for what they were about to do, suddenly set upon all the King's Sea-Horse, (which in their Removals evermore marvellously annoyed them, and whose Service was therefore, in these Multiplicities of Invasion, of great use unto the King) and putting the Keepers and Riders [1] all to the Sword, they served themselves of the Horse, and presently fell down into *Devonshire*, and surprised [2] *Exeter* upon the River *Wiske* in one of the freshest Parts of *Ælfred's* Dominion, whither as to the Rendezvous they appoint their Forces that yet remained at *Wereham* by Shipping to repair.

Perjury.

They surprise Exeter.

61. *Ælfred*, seeing the Faithlessness of the Enemy no more to be relyed on, returns to his own Arms, and rests on this, that in the utmost of his own Endeavour he must attend the good Will and Pleasure of

1 So the Story is told by *Asser* and *Florence* of *Worcester*. But *Bloomingdon* and the *Sax. Annals* give us a more true Relation, namely that in the End of the year [viz. DCCCLXXVI.] that Part of the Army which had Horses rode to *Exeter*, and that the rest, which remain'd at *Wereham*, were in the beginning of the year following mostly destroy'd by Ship-wreck at *Swanawic*, and the others escap'd on foot to *Exeter*, whither they came before the King could overtake them. But upon his Arrival he laid close Siege to the City, which reduc'd the *Danes* to such Extremity, that they were forc'd to Surrender, and retire into *Mercia*, which they took possession of, and gave part thereof to *Ceolwolf*. Yet 'twas not long that they kept the Articles. For immediately after the Feast of *Epiphany*, they set themselves down at *Chippenham*, one of the King's Seats, and laid wast almost all *West-Saxony*.

2 *Versusque inde* Domnaniam *ad locum, qui dicitur Saxonice* Eaxancestre, *Britannice autem* Cairwisc. *Asser*.

God. Therefore encouraging his People heartily to put on the Virtue that Neceſſity had put upon them, they, armed now with that laſt and moſt effectual Reſolution, not to expect Safety otherwiſe than in the utmoſt Hazard of their Lives, chearfully offer themſelves to all occaſions. And though we have not been ſo happy as to have known the Order and Particulars of their Actions here immediatly enſuing, yet do we credibly find (though indeed beyond all Credit) That in ſeven ſeveral Battles again fought in this Year with the *Danes*, *Alfred* ſo deſperately ſtruggled with them, as that with the Effuſion of a world of Blood he again extorted an Agreement from them, containing among other Things this new Article, *That the* Danes *ſhould admit no more of their Nation to arrive in the Iſland.*

Many Conflicts with them.

Rollo. 62. This was the year 876. which is further memorable for the firſt Entry of the Famous *Rollo* into *France*: which I the rather note, becauſe he is reckoned not only one of the ſame Nation with thoſe that entered and harrowed this Land, but one of their Number alſo and an Actor with them in their Invaſion here: and that he and his Companies, being ſharply entertained and diſciplined by *Alfred* in the School of War, put over (in this year) from hence into *Normandy*, and there laid the Foundation of that Goodly Dukedom, of which our Kings at this Day are the Lineal Deſcendants. Alſo this Departure of *Rollo* argues not only the hard and buſy time that *Alfred* now had with the *Danes*, but the abundant Surcharge of them at this time within the Land, and the Miſery that the Natives the whilſt endured. For howſoever *Rollo*'s Departure hence is fathered on a Dream, whereby he is ſaid to be called into *France*, yet queſtionleſs the great and ſecret Motive was, the infinite Numbers of his Country-men here in the Land, and the univerſal Waſt he ſaw in every part thereof committed by them, whereby he might well reckon, he ſhould have but a ſlender Booty among ſuch a Multitude of Sharers. And not unlikely he might judge (and that with great reaſon) that in ſome new

Place,

Place, leſs obvious to the Viſitation of thoſe Rovers; he ſhould find the firſt and unbroken Bulk of Plenty more weakly guarded than here the Bottoms of their rifled Coffers were.

63. Nor was the Buſineſs of this troubleſome Year within Land only, but at Sea alſo. For *Ælfred* having ſeen the Increaſe of Pagan Forreigners to grow ſo mightily upon him, as that (ſaith *Aſſer*) if thirty thouſand of them were in one day ſlain, there arrived as many more of them the next Day, he ſought by Counſel to prevent what by Force he ſaw he ſhould not long be able to reſiſt; and therefore he would no longer attend their Coming ſafe on Land (which if they did, he was ſure his Country ſhould maintain them with the Spoil thereof) but would rather venture the Fortune of Encounter firſt upon the Sea, where, for the moſt part, the new Incomers (being ſtowed up in Veſſels built on the ſudden for preſent Tranſportation, and not for other Service) would not willingly be preſt to fight: and as for the Pyrates that were ſtrong in Shipping, if they ſhould chance to have the better, yet after an hard Encounter they would be the weaker to attempt any thing by Land. Therefore the King, well adviſing of the Benefit of that Courſe, cauſed a good Proviſion of Long Boats and Gallies fit for Service to be built along the Coaſt; and withal took order to have them well furniſhed both with Men and with the Ammunition of thoſe times, and ſo appointed them to the Keeping of the common Roads againſt the Arrival of Strangers, with an expreſs Command to grant no Quarter to them, nor receive any of their Condition unto Mercy.

64. Some of theſe Ships of the King's the ſame Year 876, meeting with ſix [1] great Forreign Gallyes, coming in with Strangers, fought with them, took one of them, Sea-Fights.

1 Our Author is here ſomewhat confus'd. The true order, according to the *Saxon Annals*, is this. *An.* DCCCLXXV. King *Ælfred* fought with ſeven *Daniſh* Ships at Sea, took one of them and chaced

them, and chaced the rest away. Others of his Shipping, meeting with 120. Sail of smaller Ships, seeking to arrive with fresh Supplies, Sea-beaten, weary and unfit for fight, set upon them and sunk them every one.

877. 65. It also happened the next year after the Taking of *Exeter*, that an 120 of the Vessels, belonging to the Army of the three Kings, (which were remaining at *Wareham* when they from thence went and surprised *Exeter*, and which were to waite the Residue of their Army from *Wareham* thither) in their Passage perished by the [1] way, and *Ælfred*, taking hold of the occasion, made after the Horse to *Exeter*, and before they could have Succour from the other Parts compelled them yet once more to give both Faith and Hostages to depart out of his Territories: and so that part of the *Danish* Army quitted *Exeter*, and entring into *Mercia* went and joined themselves with the *Danes* that were already sate down at *Gloucester*, who, weary of trying their Fortune any more, had now taken *Mercia* into their own Hands: and appointing unto *Ceolwulf* their Tributary a certain Portion of their Country for his Part, the Residue they divided among themselves, and diverse of them began to plant and settle thereupon.

66. But all these were but few in Comparison of the great Multitudes of them, which scatteringly filled every Corner of the Land, who after diverse Dispersings

---

the rest away. *An.* DCCCLXXVI. the *Danes* possess *Wareham*, and make Peace with the King. *An.* DCCCLXXVII. they break the Agreement, come to *Exeter*, loose 120 of their Ships at *Swanawic*, and at last go into *Mercia*. *An.* DCCCLXXVIII. they come to *Chippenham*, &c.

1 Sir *John* should have here added the Place where they perished, which was *Swanawic* (now *Swanwich* in *Hampshire*) as appears from the *Saxon* Chronicle. And so I find it added in the Margin of our Author's Original Copy, with a design to be inserted upon a Review. 'Tis call'd *Suanauine* in *Asser. Men.* of Mr. *Camden's* Edition, tho' omitted in Archbishop *Parker's*, perhaps more truly, as being Part of *Asser's* Annals publish'd by Dr. *Gale*, where however 'tis printed *Swanawic*. But in a Fragment of the same Annals preserv'd by Mr. *Leland* in the second Vol. of his MSS. Coll. f. 191. b. (where he calls it the Chronicle of St. *Neots*, and professes himself ignorant of the Author's Name) 'tis written *Suanouuic*.

by

by little and little gathering together entired themselves into one Body, and being besides so much increased with new Incomes, as that they were become a mighty Army, like Locusts (saith *Huntington*) covering the Face of the Earth, they despise any longer to be resisted by so poor an handfull as the *Saxons* now were grown unto, and therefore, contrary to Faith, and Oath, and the security of their Hostages, they enter the King's Country, and, like a raging Floud, bearing all before it, they chace away the Natives. And at *Chippenham* in *Wiltshire*, at that time a principal Town of the Kings of *West-Saxons*, and in the Heart of the Country, they set them down, not intending a Wintering only (as at other times) and away, but seeing the other Parts of the Kingdom either wast or already in Dividend among their Countrymen, and this the only fresh Part of the Island, and most to be desired for Receipt of so great a Plantation, they choose that to be the lot of their Residence.

The *Danes* surprise *Chippenham*. 878. æt. 27. Reg. 5.

67. The *Saxons* were before quite spent and done, their late Actions had utterly overthrown them, only for the present they subsisted, rather in the Reputation of their Prince, and Credit of their former Deeds, than any real Power that at this time survived in them, and the *Danes* (as it were afraid of the Lyon's Skin) had made a stand a while, and forbore to attempt any further against the King; but that fear quickly vanishing, they no sooner now enter'd the King's Country, but the *Saxons* (that knew they wanted no more to make an end of them, than that the Enemy should insist upon the Advantage that he had) giving all gone, began to think it time to look every one unto his own Safety, those of the best condition and truest to their Prince to fly into [1] *Wales*, or to hide themselves in the Woods and fittest Places of the Kingdom: the rest, looking only on the present Face of Things, and pre-

The *Saxons* fly or revolt.

1 Trajiciunt Gallias mare in oras, *Æthelwerd.* Open ræ, *Chron. Sax.* Trans mare, *Matt. West. & Flor. Wig.*

ferring Security, though upon the vileſt Terms whatſoever, before Trouble and Danger, revolted from the King, and ſubmitted themſelves to the Barbarous Enemy, doubly augmenting him thereby, to what like Number of others could have done; becauſe it was with his Adverſary's equal Diminution.

The King conceals himſelf.

68. *Alfred* ſeeing his Subjects fly, the Enemy in the midſt of his Country, and no means left either to unite or ſollicite the few that remained unto him, being forced to give way unto the Rage of Fortune and comply with it, lays aſide all Kingly State and Shew of being Prince, diſpoſes of his Family according to preſent Neceſſity, and taking the Diſguiſe of an obſcure and common Souldier, he at firſt commits himſelf and his Safety to one who (according to the manner of thoſe Times) had the Charge and Keeping of ſome of the King's Cowes. Whether as a Souldier only, and unknown, or whether as King, and known unto the Neat-herd himſelf, appeareth not: but as to Neat-herd's Wife, it is clear by a Tale they tell of her, that ſhe had no ſuſpicion who he was. For being buſied one day in going to the Oven with Bread, and having ſet a Cake thereof before the fire, (where the King ſet trimming of his Bow and Arrows, and fitting his other Weapons) while ſhe went otherwhere about her Buſineſs, the Cake burnt, and the King, wholly intent to the fitting of his Tackle, minded it not, 'till the rude Huſwife coming in, and finding the Cake burning, in a great Chafe fell on ſcolding at the King, (as *Aſſer* tells it) *Heus Homo!*

Urere quos cernis panes gyrare moraris,
Quum nimium gaudes hos manducare calentes?
Canſt ſet and ſee the Bread burn thus (thou ſot)
And canſt not turn what thou ſo well lov'ſt hot?

However the matter ſtood betwixt him and his Neat-herd Hoſte, the Concealment was ſo ſure, as that neither Subjects nor Enemies, for a while, knowing what was become of him, his Subſtance in every place became a common Prey, as well to the Revolted *Saxon* as the *Dane*.

1 Fla. Wig. 69. Upon

69. Upon this great Depreſſion of Sovereignty in ſo brave a Prince, the Religious of thoſe Times have given their Judgments, as if it had not befallen him without his apparent Deſert, and that God, having been greatly offended by him, and therefore in Juſtice neceſſitate to call him to Account for it, out of an eſpecial Mercy toward him, took in this ſort that ſevere Account here by way of Acquittal in the world to come.

70. For as they tell it, *Alfred*[1] howſoever otherwiſe of great Merit and eminent Virtues, yet as of himſelf he had no great deſire to the Crown, ſo neither could he in the beginning of his Reign well frame himſelf to attend the function of ſo great a Charge, his vehement Affectation of Literature, (to which he had ſo natural an Inclination and ſo little Means of Satisfaction) his Deſire of Knowledge and Experience, in all the Faculties of an Univerſal Wit, and again his Hawking, Hunting, and other Exerciſes, to which his youth and the Active vigour more of Mind than Body did incline him, and in which he was ever inventing or experimenting ſomething or other, theſe in that Vacancy of Moleſtation (which after the Battle of *Wilton* he for a year or two had at the Beginning of his Reign) ſo much took up his Mind and Thoughts, as that he but a little attended to the Occaſions and Complaints of his poor Subjects. And though (as they ſay) he were often admoniſhed thereof by one *Neotus*, a Kinſman of his of Reverend Eſteem in thoſe Days for Exemplar Life and Holineſs, yet ſo little did it work upon him as that the holy Man, having much lamented the King's Averſeneſs, Sorrow at length reſolving it ſelf into a Spirit of Propheſy, foretold the King what Croſſes and Afflictions he ſhould for that Cauſe certainly encounter: That he ſhould be deprived of his Kingdom, and live as it were an Exile in his own Country. And theſe howſoever predicted, did aſſuredly (by the Conſent of all that have writ his Actions) now abundantly befal the King.

1 *Aſſ. Men.*

71. But howſoever preſented in the Shew of Puniſhments, yet (as God's Chaſtiſements ever prove in the upſhot) they rather became ſo many real Bleſſings, not only in a ſpiritual Conſideration, as they mould them, that ſuffer in them, into a fitter Temper for receiving the renewed Impreſſions of the Divine Image once Defaced: but even in human Reſpects alſo; clearing the Underſtanding; ſharpening the Wit; taking off the Mind from hurtful and unprofitable Affections; diſpoſing the Will reſolutely to undertake what only now remained to be done; and ſtrengthening both the Heart and Hands to ſtruggle with all obſtacles of the Difficult work. Neither came this Diſcipline too late to do him good; inſomuch as God had as yet left one Door open to his Hopes, in that he had withheld from the Enemie's Diſcerning, that it was but to little purpoſe that ever they overthrew him, unleſs they purſued that Overthrow with his Final Extirpation.

72. Certain it is that during the time that the King (thus overpowred with thoſe ever-increaſing Multitudes of *Danes*) was forced to withdraw and ſhelter himſelf from the open violence of ſuch a Storm, that yet even then, like one as inexhauſtible in Courage, as they in Numbers, he with a ſmall handful of Men, ſometimes in one place, ſometimes in another, ſtealing upon them, often preſented himſelf in ſo ſmart Demonſtrations of his Valour, as gave them to underſtand, that, howſoever overlaid with their Multitudes, they were not as yet to count him overcome: *cum Ælfredo enim etiam victo, etiam jacente, luctandum* (ſaith *Malmesb.*): *adeo ut, quum omnino contritum putares, velut anguis lubricus de manu tenentis elapſus, è cavernis ſubitus emergebat, ſponte inimicos inſultantes adoriens: plerumque poſt fugam importabilis* &c. Ælfred (ſaith he) *even when he was overthrown, and caſt down, was always new to be encountred with: ſo that when one would think him trod in pieces, he like a Snake ſlipping out of the Hands of them that held him, would from his hiding Places on the ſudden ſet upon the Triumphing Enemy:*

Enemy: and after an overthrow, his Fury was for the most part insupportable.

73. Unto his Advantage in this kind of Dealing with the Enemy, the Site and Habit of the Country (at that time every where abounding with vast Woods and Fens, the Passages whereof were scarcely known but to the Natives) did much conduce, especially that mighty Fenny Karre of *Æthelny*[1], between the Rivers *Thone* and *Parret*, in *Somersetshire*, which then, having not much above two Acres of Solid Ground in it, contained a vast Quantity of Alderkarre that nourished great Store of Deer and other Game, and all inclosed every way with water, was no way to be entered but by Boat, or Wading, save that in Height of Summer it on the one side afforded some Difficult Access unto a Foot-man. This the King found so fitting to his purpose, that, with some little help, he made himself a small Hold or Receptacle, from whence issuing secretly he often made such Sallies out upon the *Dane*, as had been worthy enough to have lived unto Posterity, had they not with other Particulars of his Life together perished; because in the Monks Account they were [2] *inextricabiles laborum labyrinthi*, which were utter madness (saith *Malmesbury*) for one to think he could particularly recount. This is apparently to be collected, that when for the main the Writers all follow the first, and yet not one but has Particulars not touched upon by others, much more of his Actions long survived by Fame and by Tradition, than are contained in their Writings all together.

74. A full Year well nigh lay *Ælfred* clouded under this Adversity of Fortune. A long Eclipse it was of so great a Light, and which in humane Judgment had been fatal to him, had it not then pleased God to have looked with a more favourable Eye upon him: and as he had descended so far as to let him understand his Offence and Punishment aforehand; so likewise was he pleased now to let him know, that he was pacified towards him, and had determined his Restitution.

1 Or *Æthelingey*. 2 *Malmesb.* 75. It

75. It happened one day, while the King was in his Fort in *Æthelingey*, it being Winter, and the Waters all shut up with Ice, that having sent abroad his People to get them Fish, or Foul, or some such Purveyance as they sustained themselves withall, none being excused from that Employment but himself and his [1] Mother only, (whereby it seems that either the Queen was dead, or in some other Place with the Children) the King took a Book, and (after his constant wont whensoe're he had opportunity) he fell on reading. In the mean while there knocks a poor Man [2] at the Gate, and begs for *Christ* his sake, that they would give him somewhat. The King called [3] to his Mother, and desired her to look in the Cupboard and give the poor Man something for to eat. She going to do accordingly, found that there was but one only Loaf in the House, and comes and shews the King the slender Provision he had, telling him that that was all his Store, and that it was not enough to suffice his hungry Family, when anon they should come home from Fishing. The King hearing of it, like one whose Heart was right, gave God humble thanks, using those words [4] *Benedictus Deus in donis suis*, and prayed his Mother for *Christ's* sake to give the poor *Christian* one half of the Loaf, saying withall that he, that could feed 5000 Men with five Loaves and two Fishes, could (if it pleased him) make that half of the Loaf suffice for more than his Occasions. His Mother therefore did accordingly, and the poor Man being served and departed,

Alfred's exceeding Charity.

---

1 I cannot see how this can be true: because his Mother had been dead long since; and tho' his Mother-in-Law *Judith* out-liv'd *Æthelwolf*, and was married to *Æthelbald*, (Brother of *Alfred*) yet she return'd again soon after into *France*. For which reason 'tis most likely that K. *Alfred's* Wife was now present with him in *Æthelingey*.

2 By Name *Nider*. See a MS. History of *England* from *Brute* to the 14th year of *Hen.* VI. in Bibl. Bodl. NE. D. 2. 12. f. 43. a.

3 In the said MS. there is no mention of the King's Mother, but instead of that 'tis said he commanded his Man-Servant to serve the Poor Man, and besides the Loaf, there is mention there of a little Wine.

4 *Inguif.*

the

the King went on with his Reading, and wearied at length, and wanting other Relief of his Cares and Solitariness, he fell asleep, and dreamt that St. *Cuthbert*, His Dream. [1] Bishop of *Lindisfarn*, now *Holly-Island* (from whence the Episcopal See was after transferred to *Durham*) came to him and told him that [2] he was sent by God to let him know, That the long and sharp Afflictions of the *English* for their Sins had now at length moved him to Compassion, and that taking in good part his Liberal Alms that Day, when he himself was in so great want, he had determined to restore him to his Crown, and that, in Token thereof, his Servants, who in that unseasonable Weather were (without Hope of getting any great Matter) gone a fishing, should anon come home with so great a Quantity of Fish, as should be wonderful unto him. The King awaking herewithal called his Mother, and told her his Dream, she likewise having at the same Instant fallen asleep, and but then waked by the King's Calling her, assured him that she had then Dreamt the same thing: and while they sate there counting of the matter unto one another, their Servants came home with so incredible a Quantity of Fish, as were in their Seeming sufficient to have fed an Army.

76. Whether we shall think the Dream to have proceeded from a natural Cause only, as presented by the Fancy according to the Current of Thoughts precedent; or whether we shall believe it a supernatural and immediate Revelation from God, it is not here very much material. The one as well as the other serves at God's Appointment, by raising or dejecting of the Mind with Hopes or Fears, to lead Man to the Resolution of those Things whereof he has before ordained the Event.

---

1. In the Life of St. *Neot*, as I find by some *Excerpta* out of it in the third Vol. of Mr. *Leland's* Collections (f. 11. a.) 'tis said that 'twas not St. *Cuthbert*, but St. *Neot* who appear'd to *Ælfred*, which Mr. *Leland* has noted to be a mistake, and contrary to the Authority of other Writers.

2. *Ingulf. Malmesb.*

77. While

Hubba overthrown. 878.

877. While *Alfred* was full of the Thought of his Dream, and what the Consequence thereof would prove, News was brought him, that *Hubba* the *Dane*, who with his Brother *Hinguar* had been one of the Martyrers of King *Edmund*, returning out of *Wales*, (where he had wintered and made a miserable Slaughter of the *Welsh*) and coming into *Devonshire* with three and twenty Sail of Ships, fell into the Hands of some of the King's Subjects, and was with 1200. of his Men slain before the Castle of [1] *Kinwith*.

878. This *Kinwith* was then a Hold of some Strength, it seems, not far from the Mouth of the *Tau*, whither *Oddune* Earl of *Devonshire* with many of the King's Party had, upon *Hubba*'s Arrival there, betaken themselves. And *Hubba*, understanding that they of the Castle were unprovided of Victuals, and nothing well furnished of other Necessaries for their Defence, more than in the bare walls and natural Situation of the Castle, confident that they were a Prey fallen into his Hands, he presently lays Siege to the Castle, assuring himself that, through the wants of the besieged, especially of Water, he should soon compell them to render; but the besieged, early apprehending the Necessity before they came to be bitten with it, put on the Resolution, to take their Fortune, either of Death or Victory; and while their Strength and Courage was yet fresh and whole, they betimes in the Morning, and when the Besiegers little looked for it, made a Sally on them, overthrew them, slew [2] *Hubba*, and cut in Pieces the whole Army, unless it were some few, that were able

1 *Cymri* Asser.

2 *John Brompton* [col. 809. a.] and most of our other Historians tell us *Hubba* was slain at *Chippenham*; and yet they say his Body was buried in *Devonshire*. Dani *vero cadaver* Hubbæ *inter occisos invenientes, illud cum clamore maximo sepelierunt, cumulum apponentes, quem* Hubbe beorowe *vocaverunt, unde sic usque in hodiernum diem locus ille appellatus est, & est in comitatu* Devoniæ. Agreeably to which, abating only that it mentioneth *Hinguar* also amongst the slain, an old Chronicle in *English* call'd *Brute of England*, [MS. in Bibl. Bodl. inter codd. Digb. num. CLXXXV.] thus expresseth it: And when the Danes forth Hun-

gar

able to recover their Ships. In this Defeat among the Spoil (which was not small) was taken that famous *Danish* Standard called [1] *Reafan*, or the *Raven*, the great Confidence of those Pagans. It was a Banner with the Image

The *Raven* taken.

---

ar and Hubba deid thei bare theym to a Mountayn ther bysyde, and made upon hym a logge and lete call it Hubbslugh. And so itt is to this day in Debenshir. Here it must be noted, that 'twas the common way of Burial with the *Danes* to raise *Tumuli* upon the Bodies, of which there were three Sorts, [*Olai Wormii Monum. Dan.* p. 40.] the first whereof was with Heaps of great Stones, which was proper only to their Kings. These *Tumuli* were call'd Lowes in the old *English* Language, either from the *British* word Llehan, id est, *locare, vel collocare*, [see Dr. *Davies's Brit. Dictionary*;] or from the *Saxon* word leg, lig, lige, or (according to the Pronunciation of the *Danes*) loge, signifying *flame*. As therefore *Busium* denoted the place where a Man was burn'd and buried, so did our Ancestors in imitation of them call the Place of Burial Lowe, whether the Bodies were burn'd or not. And this latter seems to be the more true Etymology; because in *Scotland* and the Northern Parts of *England*, the Flame of any Fire is called low to this day; the common People [see Sir *Will. Dugdale's Antiq. of Warwickish.* p. 4. Dr. *Skinner's Etymolog. vocum omnium antiquarum Anglic.* and Mr. *Ray's Collection of* English *Words not generally us'd*, Lond. 1691. 8vo. Ed. second.] usually saying that the fire lows, when it blazeth or flameth. For which reason *Gawin Douglas*, Bishop of *Dunkel*, in his old *Scotch* Translation of *Virgil's Æn.* [lib. VII. fol. CLIV. b. printed at *Lond.* MDLIII. 4to.] useth the word in the same sense:

As King Latynus kindyllis on thers gyse
Apoun the Altaris for the Sacrifice
The clere chidis [corrected schidis by *Junius* in his Copy in Bibl. Bodl.] of the dry fyre brandis,
Quhare that also by hir fader standis
Lavinia the maid, his Douchter fare,
Ane selcouth thing to se, in hir hare
It semyt the hate fyre kindillit bricht,
And hir gay cleithing, all with lowis licht
Gan glete and sperkilland, birn up in ane bleis.

Atque omnem ornatum flamma crepitante cremari.

And for the same reason without doubt it is that Law signifies an Hill amongst the hither *Scotchmen*, as Mr. *Camden* observes. [*Remains*, pag. 98.]

[1] Ræfen Sax. Annal. DCCCLXXVIII. But in one Copy hnefn. From this famous Banner in all probability *Anlaf*, King of *Northumberland*, afterwards had a *Raven* upon his Banner, as appears from a Coyn publish'd by Sir ANDREW FOUNTAINE, Tab. III. And the

Image of a Raven magically wrought by the three Sisters of *Hinguar* and *Hubba*, on purpose for their Expedition in Revenge of their Father *Lodebroch*'s Murther, made, they say, almost in an instant, being by them at once begun and finished in a noon-tyde, and believed by the *Danes* to have carried great Fatality with it; for which it was highly esteemed of them. It is pretended that being carried in Battle, [1] toward good Success it would always seem to clap the Wings, and do as if it would fly, but toward the Approach of Mishap it would hang right down and not move. Whatsoever it was, the Imposture was now betrayed: for being taken by Surprise, they had lost their Oracle before they had time to consult with it.

79. Of what Credit soever the Omination of the Standard was in it self, the Prisal of it by the *Christians* was of no little Consequence. For the Pagans having once (how well it matters not) placed a more than ordinary Opinion and Belief therein, when after they came to loose it, they could not but loose withal their Hearts and Confidence, and the Victors, though they regarded it not as auspicious, did notwithstanding rise in Reputation with the heart-fallen Enemy, the matter standing between them as with things put together in Ballance, where the only taking away from the weight of the one does as much contribute to the other, as if when they were both equal that other's weight alone had been increased.

80. *Ælfred*, upon the Intelligence of this Success in *Devonshire*, raising his Hopes to the Expectation of a better Change, bethinks himself what Course to take to make some happy Attempt upon the Enemy, who had not only chaced him out of the chiefest Part of his Country, but, by possessing the middle Part, kept him there-

---

the Story of the Atchievements perform'd by the help of it was so remarkable, that it gave Original to a Family, RÆFEN being the name of one of the *Monetarii* in King *Canute*'s Coyns (Tab. IV.) publish'd by the same ingenious Gentleman.

1 *Asser. Men.*

by

by from making head any more againſt him. Firſt therefore he fortifies his Place of Reſidence in *Æthelingey*, and as he had a dextrous Wit, every way contrivable according to his occaſions, wanted no Heart to entertain the leaſt probability that Induſtry might work upon; nor Courage to put in Execution what he once reſolved to be done: ſo he makes uſe of every Faculty to compaſs the End that he deſired. He knew the Enemy ſo much too hard for him both in Numbers, and th' Advantage of his Fortunes, as that, in an ordinary way, it would not be to any great purpoſe to venture on him. And to hope for an Advantage without particular Information of the ſtate of the Enemy, was a thing unlikely. And for means of Intelligence, he neither had the Inſtruments about him; and if he had had, others Eyes and Ears were not always ſufficient Spyals to prompt the Apprehenſion of him that by Stratagem muſt ſupply the Defect of his Power. Therefore taking a Harp, and fitting himſelf like one that went about to ſhew Tricks, and make Sport, with one only Confident with him, he goes into the *Daniſh* Army, and by the Privilege of that Diſguiſe, had free Admittance every where even into the King's Tents, and there for many Days he ſo entertain'd himſelf among them, as that while he humoured them with his Mirth, he gave himſelf the fulleſt [1] ſatisfaction he could deſire.

The King like an Harper enters the *Danes* Camp.

81. Returning back to *Æthelingey*, he privily ſends for ſuch of his Nobles and Principal Men as readily could be got together, tells them what he had done and ſeen, how careleſs and ſecure the Enemy was, and how eaſily he could find the way to give him a Blow. While his Nobles could but wonder at what he told them, he admoniſhes them of what was fit to be done, and preſſing to take the opportunity, he made ſo good

1 This Relation is to be found in *Ingulfus*, *Malmsbury*, and moſt of the more modern Authors; but it does not appear either in *Aſſer* or *Æthelward*.

uſe

use of that Meeting and Conference, as that all th *Hampshire*, *Wiltshire* and *Somersetshire* Men (that we not fled nor revolted to the Enemy) upon some secr and diligent Sollicitation (as is to be supposed) in a m litary manner repaired presently to an assigned plac on the East side of the great Wood (now *Sellwood* Fo rest) in *Wiltshire*, and thence conducted to a plac called [1] *Egbrichtston* (I conceive [2] it *Brixston* beside th Forrest) they there were presented to the King.

The *Saxons* assembled.

82. The very Sight [3] of *Ælfred*, after so great Suppression, and so long Concealment of him, as muc rejoiced the *Saxons* as if they had received him fro the dead, (it more than any worldly thing conduein to their Comforts and Encouragement;) but the King making what use he could of the day for ordering o his Affairs, that he might neither loose time himself, no give more than needs must to the Enemy, (who start led with the Alarm of his so publick Revival, and wit the gathering together of his Subjects, began at *Ed dington* to order a very great Army) he the next Morn ing betimes marches to [4] *Okely*, and the Morning afte to *Eddington*, where though he found the Host of th *Danes* very great, yet taking them in disorder, or hav ing discovered them mainly defective in some necessa ry Provisions, or what happier Inspiration else in clined him, he incouraged his Souldiers, giving them to understand [5], "That howsoever they had suffered "much, yet was all their Suffering short of the Demerit "of their Sins. That God had not dealt with them "otherwise than after the Rule of a faithfull and lov "ing Father, whose Chastisements once over, he would "the readier return in Favour and Compassion toward "them. That now he had already begun to lay his

They come to *Æthandune*.

Ælfred encourageth the *Saxons*.

1 Ecgbyphtcer-ȝtane *Chron. Sax.*

2 Of this Opinion is also Dr. *Gibson* in his Interp. of Places Names at the End of the *Sax. Chron.*

3 *Flo. Wig.*

4 Iglea, or Æglea, *Chron. Sax.* *Æcglea* and *Eglea* in others.

5. Hist. Eccl. Ang. *Nic. Harpesfeldi*, Secul. 9. c. 4.

"Hand

"Hand upon the Enemy, and had ſtricken him with "Fear and Aſtoniſhment. That on the contrary he had "by Dreams and otherwiſe given unto him great Encou- "ragements. That not only the Juſtneſs of their Cauſe, "(who had to do with none but Pyrats and Robbers, "never injured by them, and who had 6do times broken "Faith with them) gave them good Aſſurance of their "Hopes; but alſo the very Conſequence of the preſent "Action, they being now to diſpute whether *Chriſtia-* "*nity*, or Barbarous and Heathenish Impiety, ſhould "be eſtabliſhed in the Land. That therefore they ſhould "raiſe their Spirits anſwerable to ſo great a Work, no- "thing doubting but that God would graciouſly aſſiſt "them in it.

83. Having ended his Speech, and being anſwered with the great Alacrity of the whole Army, he preſently charged the Enemy, forcing him to fight, and though, through the Greatneſs of their Numbers, they along time ſuſtain'd the utmoſt of the King's Power, yet he in the End prevailing gave them a mighty Overthrow, and that with ſo great a Slaughter of them, as if that Field alone had been appointed for the Recompence of all the bloody and inhumane Cruelties they had before committed in the Land. The *Danes* fly, and fall on every hand: and the King, being advertiſed, that in the Flight the chief of thoſe that eſcaped had recovered a Caſtle not far off, to make an end of the work he had ſo well begun, he ſtraightly beſieged it, well adviſed that the Proviſions of the Place were nothing anſwerable to the time they muſt expect for Succour. The Battle of *Eddington*. The *Danes* overthrown. Beſieged.

84. Scarcely had he there beſieged them a Fortnight, when pinched with Cold and Hunger, and broken with Terror and Diſtraction, [1] they in great Humiliation, and with Tears in their Eyes, deſired Mercy upon any Conditions it ſhould pleaſe the King to propound; for Performance whereof they [2] offered to give what Hoſtages he would demand, without any Counter-Hoſtages on his part to be delivered unto them. Submit.

1 *Hoveden.* 2 *Aſſ. Men.* and *Flo. Wig.*

85. *Ælfred*, naturally inclined to Mercy, condescends to their Requests; but to make the best use he could of their broken and much softned Hearts, both to their good and his own, he demands that [1] *Guthrum* their King, (for it seems the other two Kings *Oscitell* and *Amund* were slain) the Chiefs of the Army, and all the rest of the People should receive *Christianity* and be baptized, and should at his pleasure depart out of his Dominion. To all that the King demanded they agreed, and for Performance gave both Oath and such Hostages (both for Number and Quality) as the King himself did think sufficient for him.

Guthrum and the *Danes* baptized.

86. *Guthrum*, according to the Agreement, attended with 30 of the Chiefest of the Army, and divers others of the Common Souldiers, came within a short time after to the King to [2] *Aalre*, and there in [3] *Weadmore* they were baptized, where *Guthrum* was by *Ælfred* his Godfather named *Æthelstan*, and both he and his new Christened Company with much Honour entertained by the space of 12 Days, whom also at their Departure [4] *Ælfred* in a royal manner presented with Gifts according to their occasion and the present store he then had.

East-Anglia and *Northumberland* assigned to them.

87. But desirous by all means yet further to oblige *Guthrum*, (whom he made reckoning he had not only overcome, but wonn and made his own,) he gave him the Kingdoms of *East-Anglia* and *Northumberland* to hold of him for ever, determining the Bounds of his own distinct Possessions from those of *Guthrum's* in

---

1 *Gordinus* in MS. D. *Ken. Digbæi*, n. 196. 2 Alny. *Æthelw.*

3 In the *Saxon Annals* 'tis said they were baptized at *Alre*, and that his cnism-lising þæs æt Fetmon. *his* Chrism (or rather *Chrismal*) *was pull'd off at* Wedmor. This was a white Linnen Cloath put upon their Heads presently after they had been baptized & anointed, that the Oyl might stay on, and taken off 8 days after. In MS. Digb. n. 196. The place is call'd Westm̄, i. e. *Westmer*, or *Westminster*, which one might conclude to be a Mistake of the Librarian, for Wedm̄, i. e. *Wedmer* or *Wedmor*, if immediately after the Author himself did not tell us that *Guthrum* and his Company were entertain'd thse 12 days at *London*.

4 Cui rex cum suis omnibus multa & optima ædificia largiter dedit. *Asser. Men. & Flo. Wig.*

this

this sort, *viz.* [1] Along the *Thames* (from the Mouth thereof) to the River *Lea*, from thence to the Head of *Lea*, thence streight to *Bedford*, and then down the *Ouse* to *Watling Street*, with which it meeteth at *Huntingdon*. As for any further Bounds there is no mention; because that from thence Westward toward *St. David's*, that well known way was still the Boundary between them.

88. The Gift of these Kingdoms necessarily drew on a Treaty and Articles between the King and *Guthrum*; for the well governing of the Territories he was to hold of him: which being then agreed on are in part to this day exstant with us (among the Laws of the *Saxon* Kings set forth by Mr. *Lambard*) in two several Capitulations. The first whereof, there entituled *Fœdus Aluredi & Guthrumni*, is only a short Provision for the present Stay of Things untill some further Order might be taken for a fuller Union and Security between their People; where setting down the Bounds and Division of their distinct Territories, (as is already rehearsed) it then provides, that there shall be but one

Ælfred giveth them Laws.

1 The *Saxon* Words are: Æꞃeꞅꞇ ẏmb uꞃe lanꝺgemeꞃa up on Temeꞅe. ⁊ ꝺonne up on Lıꝺan. ⁊ anꝺlanꝺ Lıꝺan oꝺ hıꞃe æꞃẏlm. ꝺonne on ꝺeꞃıhꞇe ꞇo Beꝺanꞅoꞃꝺa. ꝺon up on Uꞅan oþꞅæꞇlınꝺa-ꞅꞇꞃæꞇ. Which is thus to be understood, *viz.* That King *Ælfred* did hereby grant him *East-England* and *Essex*; so that the Bounds of their Dominions were first the *Thames*, then the River *Lea*, as far as *Hertford*, whereabouts it riseth: then from *Hertford* to *Bedford*, all along *Watling Street*, and from *Bedford* all along the *Ouse* to the Sea. Which is sufficient Proof that the Eastern Parts of *England* then belonged to the *Danes*; notwithstanding which *Polydore Vergil*, calling this King by the Name of *Gormon*, vehemently contends, that that Country was not bestowed upon him, as is noted by Mr. *Leland* in the second Vol. of his MSS. Collections in the *Bodlejan* Library, f. 192. a. *Krantzius* likewise denies that this *Gormon* was converted to the *Christian* Faith; yet grants [*De Regibus Daniæ*, lib. IV. c. 15.] that about this Time one *Froto* was converted. But whatever these Authors say, the Agreement it self plainly distinguisheth their Territories, and the Testimony of *Asser*, who lived at this Time, (not to mention the *Saxon Annals*, and the Passage of *John Picus*, who lived in the Reign of *Hen.* I, cited by Mr. *Lambard*) is uncontroulable as to *Guthrum's* Baptism.

and the ſame Eſtimation of Perſon both of *Engliſh* and *Dane*, and the Mulct for Slaughter of them both alike. That a *Thane* (or [1] Man) of the King's being queſtion'd for Man-Slaughter, or any Offence above four Marks, ſhall be try'd by twelve of his Peers, and others by eleven of their Peers and one of the King's Men. That no Buying of Men, Horſe or Oxen ſhall be juſtifyable without Voucher of the Seller, and his Avowing the Sale. And laſtly that there ſhall be no Licentious Entercourſe of the Souldiers of the one with thoſe of the other Army.

89. The other Capittulation, which ſoon followed the firſt, is by Mr. *Lambard* entituled, *Fœdus Edwardi & Guthrumni*. The Scope whereof is chiefly a giving of Law to the *Dane*, and tying him to obſerve the Rules of *Chriſtianity*, though (as the great Licentiouſneſs at that time required) they were made general, including the *Saxons* as well as the *Danes*, and for the moſt part in a greater Penalty. The Tenor of them is after this ſort: That forſaking Heatheneſs, they ſhall worſhip God, one, and him alone. That the Peace of the Church ſhall be inviolate, and the Peace of the King's hand unbroken. That if any ſhall renounce *Chriſtianity*, or promote Heatheneſs, he ſhall according to the Offence be puniſhed with Fine, Ranſom, or Confiſcation. Then follow Ordinances againſt Miſdemeanours in Religious Men, againſt Inceſt, againſt witholding of Tythes, againſt buying, ſelling, or working on Sundays, againſt Breach of the Faſts of the Church, againſt Tryals of Men on Holy-Days and Solemn Faſts, and Executing of Men on Sundays, againſt Witches, them that forſwear themſelves, *&c.*

90. Now though this Ordinance is by Mr. *Lambard* called *Fœdus Edwardi*, yet is it *Ælfred's* Law and not *Edward's*, though that (for the more ſhew of Authority) *Edward* joyned in the Making of it: for the Title in the *Saxon* Original is, *The Ordinance that firſt K.* Ælfred *and K.* Guthrum, *and then K.* Edward *and K.*

1 Or Baron.

Guthrum

Guthrum *made* &c. *when the* Engliſh *and* Danes *fully betook them to Peace and Friendſhip.* Now that was in *Ælfred's* Life time, and, to be ſure, *Guthrum* died at leaſt ten years before *Edward* came to the Crown. But as *Edward's* joining in this Ordinance hath perhaps occaſioned the Miſtake of ſome, that *Guthrum* was not ſubdued by *Ælfred*, ſo Mr. *Lambard's* Tranſlation hath confirmed the Error: for he does not only aſcribe the latter of the two Ordinances to *Edward* only; but he calleth thoſe Laws *Leagues*, *Fœdus Æluredi &c.* and *Fœdus Edwardi* &c. as if *Ælfred* had not given Law to *Guthrum*, but divided the Land with him, and made a League, as with a Party abſolute and independent. And where the *Saxon* Copy of theſe Laws hath theſe words in the Title, *viz. On the day that the Men ſware*, meaning the *Danes*, the Tranſlation in the Perſon of the Kings renders it *die quo in hæc juravimus*, as if *Ælfred* ſware as well as the *Danes*, when it was their eſpecial offer to take what Conditions he pleaſed without any Caution on his part to be given them; and *Aſſer* ſaies, that they, according to their Promiſe, came and ſwore to him, but ſpeaks not a word of his ſwearing to them: for indeed *Guthrum* and his *Danes* (as we have ſhewed) were at this time brought unto the loweſt and moſt abject degree of Subjection that an Enemy could be, in all things to refer themſelves unto the pleaſure of the Conqueror.

91. And further to ſhew the manner of *Guthrum's* holding of the Kingdoms of *E. Anglia* and *Northumbria*, *Malmsbury* tells expreſsly That they were given him by *Ælfred*, *ut eas ſub fidelitate regis jure hereditario foveret, quas pervaſerat latrocinio.* To this may be added, That the very joining in the Laws, ſhews That the one was a Vaſſal. For had they both been abſolute, their joining had been idle; becauſe neither had had power of more than his own Kingdom. And when upon *Guthrum's* Miſgovernment, the *Northumbrians* (according to St. *Cuthbert's* Counſel in a Viſion)

made *Guthred* King over them, and he therefore granted the Privilege of Sanctuary to St. *Cuthbert's* Shrine, and made a Donation of all the Country between *Tine* and *Tise* unto the Episcopal See of [1] *York*, we see that *Ælfred* [2] as the Sovereign joined with him in either Grant. And the Abbot [3] of *Croyland* (within *Guthrum's* Limit also) reckons not that he enjoyed the Possessions of that Abbey under *Guthrum*, so much as under *Ælfred*. Neither is there any doubt to be made but that *Ælfred* was now absolute Sovereign of *Guthrum* and all the *Danes* that at this time were in *England*, and so by them acknowledged.

The *Danes* remove to *Circhester*. 879. 28. æt. 6. regni.

92. The Accord being fully made and finished, the *Danes* rise from *Chippenham*, and leisurely enough they come to *Circhester* in *Glocestershire*; where, because it was out of the Bounds of *West-Saxony*, (though otherwise within the Precinct of *Ælfred's* particular Dominions) they make no scruple to entertain themselves all that Year. And now again comes over another new Arrival of them; who searching up the *Thames* set them down at *Fulham*, and winter there; during which time, they apply themselves in correspondence to *Guthrum*, and at first joined with him; but finding him upon a Course not agreeable to their Desires, they presently again fall off from him: and withall perceiving the way, which they had design'd to take, was now more difficult than they expected, through the late Provisions that *Ælfred* had made against them, they in the Spring put over into *Flanders* and set them down at *Gaunt*, putting there in practise the barbarous Outrages that they intended to have acted here.

A new Arrival.

And Return.

Guthrum enters *E. Anglia*. 880. 29. æt. 7. regni.

93. *Guthrum* rising from *Circhester* went straight and took possession of his Kingdom of *E. Anglia*, distributed it among his Souldiers, and the greatest part of them there settled and inhabited; but such of them as at the

---

1 Of *Durham* rather.

2 Tam rex *Guthredus* quam *Ælfredus*. Et post, prædicti duo reges addiderunt. *Rog. Hoveden.*

3 *Ingulf. Saxo.*

Overthrow

Overthrow and Accord at *Eddington* refuſed to become *Chriſtians*, not fancying Reſt nor the Courſe of Plantation, fell likewiſe off from *Guthrum*, and fitting themſelves for another Fortune, they, [1] under the Conduct of one *Haſtings*, the year following put over into *Eaſt-France* or *Flanders*, where ſpeeding well in their firſt Encounter with the *Francks*, they made their wonted uſe of their good Fortune, and furniſhed themſelves ſo well with Horſe, that they are reported to have become all Horſe-Men, and then one while with their Horſe by Land, and another while with their Boats by Water, ſearching up the *Meuſe*, the *Scheld*, the *Sonne*, *&c.* they, and thoſe others that were before ſet down at *Gaunt*, for four years together committed great Spoils in all thoſe Countries, *Flanders*, *Brabant*, *Haynault*, *Artois*, *Picardy*, *&c.* and having afterward (in the divers ways of Forraging that they took) met all at *Amiens*, upon the *Sonne*, they there divided themſelves into two Parts, whereof the one again took back into *Flanders* more diligently to viſit thoſe late overrun Parts, and the other into *England*, yet once again, as they thought, made work for *Ælfred* as we ſhall hear anon.

881. 30. æt. 8. regni. *Haſtings* enters *France*.

885. 34. æt. 12. regni.

94. *Ælfred*, in the mean time, (while the Diverſion of his Enemy gave him a little Leiſure) failing in nothing, wherein his Care and Vigilance might advantage him, to make the beſt Improvement of his late Return of Fortune, had kept a wary Eye upon the Coaſts againſt the Approach of Strangers, encreaſed his Shipping (whereof he had now with great Labour and Diligence made an extraordinary Proviſion) and in the year 882. had had a notable Encounter with a great Fleet of *Danes*, that were ſeeking where to arrive; the Succeſs whereof was that his Ships, grappeling with thoſe of the Enemy, after a long Conflict, forced two of the *Daniſh* Veſſels, and took them, and, according to the Order given in that Behalf, preſently put all the Men to the Sword; other two, (wherein were two of

The King encreaſeth Shipping.

[1] *Malmesb.*

the *Danes* chief Conductors) having moſt of their Men either ſlain or made unſerviceable, caſt themſelves upon the King's Mercy. The Reſidue, maimed and ſhattered in the Fight, were, upon that Diſadvantage, driven to purſue their wonted Courſe in a new Queſt of their Fortunes.

95. Many Encounters and to very good purpoſe had the King's Shipping in that kind. And yet ſo frequent was the Arrival of Strangers, becauſe ſo little Knowledge beforehand of either their Preparation or Coming, that all that could be done could not prevent, but that while the King's Forces were buſied in the Reſiſtance of ſome of them in one Place, others had the Fortune to land quietly in another. And among the reſt, that Part of the once departed Army, which, after their Dividing themſelves at *Amiens*, made again for *England*, landing ſafely in *Kent*, came up the River *Medway*, and beſieged *Rocheſter*, where they preſently raiſed a great and a high Tower of Timber againſt one of the Gates of the City, as alſo divers other leſſer Works in ſundry Parts about it. But the Citizens ſtanding manfully upon their Defence, *Ælfred* came with great ſpeed to their Succour, and the Pagans (that of old Experience had found it good, to make no Trial of his Sword, in caſe they could make any ſhift to eſcape it) no ſooner underſtood his ſpeedy Approach, but diſtruſting themſelves they gave over their Attempt, and headlong fled to their Ships, leaſt *Ælfred* falling on them might happily have prevented them of the means of Retiring. And ſo much were their Thoughts fixed upon their Safety in that kind, as that their Booty, (which they preferred before all other things in the World) to expedite their Flight, they in great Abundance left behind them, eſpecially their Horſe, (whereof they had good ſtore) and alſo their Captives, both which were left as a Prey to the *Saxon* Army. And ſo, having made but a ſhort ſtay there, and only lightned themſelves of their Baggage, they are yet once again ſent over Sea, and forced a ſecond time to entertain themſelves in *France*.

The *Danes* return out of *France*.

Attempt *Rocheſter*.

Leave their Booty and return.

96. *Ælfred*

96. *Alfred*, rid of these, sooner than he himself expected, diligently pursues the Course he was upon, in intercepting the Arrival of new Forces. And apprehending more and more the ground of his Disadvantage, that, being altogether imployed in a Defensive War, he stood meerly upon his Guard, wherein the State of the Country did but ill befriend him, for that, being to the Coasts side every where wast and unpeopled through the Frequentation of Pirates, it gave easy Footing to any that could get safe on Shoar: which many amongst such Swarms of Invaders continually did, if at any time the King's Shipping failed in their Service, or were entertained in resisting such as by chance they fell upon. And he himself never disturbed the Enemy, but when he was either assailed by him, or immediately threatned: when if he prevailed he had but an empty victory; if he were overcome, he was not only beaten at Sea, but suffered likely in his Country also. Therefore now he resolves he would himself attempt the Enemy, who though he were not near at hand, nor had any certain Country where he might annoy him, yet considering that the Kingdoms of *E. Anglia* and *Northumbria*, given in Fee to *Guthrum* and his *Danes*, by reason they were open to the Coasts of *Germany*, were very obnoxious to the footing of Strangers, and that all along those Coasts there were continual Incomes of them, who easily finding Entrance among their Country-Men sat down under *Guthrum's* Protection, and yet gave themselves freely to Robbery and Piracy, held Correspondence with those that invaded *Alfred's* Territories. And *Guthrum* either had not the Power, or not the Will to restrain them; (for his Fidelity was never answerable to his Obligation:) so as these did not only with continual Damage molest the King and disturb the Quiet of his Country, but, if ever any Invasion or general Distemper of the State should happen, they, like a Cloud in the Wind, on every side threatned him with a Storm. Therefore putting good Store of Souldiers on Boar[d] in certain of his Ships

The King pursues the Guard of the Coasts.

Sets upon the new & unsubjected *Danes*.

Ships he had prepared in *Kent*, he gave them Directions to fall upon the Shipping of the *East-Angle* Pyrates in their Harbours, and to forrage and ſpoil their Habitations, putting their own warfare in practiſe againſt themſelves. Theſe addreſſing them to do the King's Command, in their very going out happened about the Mouth of the River *Stoure* [1] to meet with ſixteen Ships of thoſe *Daniſh* Pyrates well prepared for fight, and bound for ſome wonted Adventure. And though the King's Ships had Commiſſion to another End, yet ſeeing it was the ſame Enemy, and the ſervice of one and the ſame Importance, they preſently ſet upon thoſe Pyrates, and they, like Men of War, a long time ſtoutly maintained Fight with the King's Ships: but in the end they were all overcome and boarded, the Men ſlain, and their Ships with good ſtore of Money taken and brought home by the victorious Navy.

97. This Encounter and Victory ſo ſtirred the new-come and unſubjected *East-Angle* Pagans, that forthwith aſſembling what Shipping they could procure, and mightily manning of them, they ſuddenly ſet upon ſome of the King's Ships in the Mouth of the *Thames*; where his Ships, being rather ſurpriſed than encountered, (for it ſeems to have been before day) when yet the Mariners were almoſt all aſleep, the Pagans (ſaith the Author, not mentioning any other Particulars) had the Victory.

98. But by the Victory I underſtand no more than the better of the Aſſault; for that it ſeems that thoſe *East-Angle* Armies, (as well as the other that were obedient unto *Guthrum's* Command) notwithſtanding the

1 Our Author is miſtaken in ſuppoſing it to be the Mouth of the River *Stoure* in *Kent*. For he that attentively reads the Story, as related by *Aſſer* and the *Saxon Annals*, will conclude that 'twas in *East-Anglia*, which contained *Norfolk*, *Suffolk*, *&c.* Therefore Mr. *Lambard* [*Perambulation of Kent*, p. 264.] thinks it happened at the ſame Place now called *Harwich* Haven. For that River which is of the ſame Name with this in *Kent* divideth *Eſſex* from *Suffolk*, and not far from the Head thereof in *Eſſex* ſtandeth a Town yet called *Stoure*.

Succeſs

Succeſs they had in that Action, were ne'retheleſs glad, inſtantly upon the doing of it, to make Peace with King *Ælfred*; which again the very ſame year they moſt opprobriouſly brake, (ſaith the Author:) but wherein, or with what Advantage to themſelves, appeareth not; only this is manifeſt enough through the ſequel of the King's Affairs, that his Succeſs received little Diminution by any thing they did. For [1] though the Fireing of Towns and great Slaughters of People in this Place, ſpoken on by moſt of the Writers, do not obſcurely infer that this year (886) was a very 886. 13. reg. buſy year unto the King, yet ſo little did it interrupt the Courſe that he was now in hand withall for reducing and ſettling of his Affairs, as that, like a Palm-Tree, rather flouriſhing the more with his Depreſſion than yielding to it, he, notwithſtanding thoſe Broiles (like one abounding rather with Peace and Leiſure than in continual Wars) with his Sword in his Hand plyes the Repair and Fortifying of his waſted Towns, and eſpecially *London*, which having (in *Æthelwolph's* time) been taken and waſted by the *Danes* then, and now again (it ſeems) by others of them lately ſeiſed and held againſt the King, he with a ſtrong Siege wrung out of their Hands; and whether he judged it an opportune Bulwark for his Dominions againſt the Rovers that came up the *Thames*, or whether the Advantages of Situation even then in his Eye gave it the Prehemineence for a Mother-City to the whole Iſland, above all other he moſt carefully reedifies that, building it in a nobler ſort of Habitation than formerly; and having done, he committs it to the Cuſtody and Protection of *Æthelred* his Valiant Son-in-Law, whom alſo he made Earl of *Mercia*, from thenceforth no more a Kingdom, but a Province of his new-deſigned Monarchy. Rebuilds his waſted Towns.

99. The King's late Succeſs againſt the *Danes*, and his Proviſions made againſt the Arrival of Strangers, had now reaſonably well diverted the Current of the *Danes*, ſhifting them over into *France*, and other Places.

[1] *Aſſer. Men.*

Yet

Yet conſidering that the vitious Humour, howſoever diverted for the preſent, if it continues ſtill, is always in danger to return to the Place firſt viſited, unleſs that it be ſome way fortified againſt it, the King forced all that might be to be prepared for the Change of Fortune, and did not only repair (as we ſaid before) his waſted Towns, but build [1] new Cities and Forts in opportune Places of his Borders: and further alſo ordered his Levies of Men in ſuch a ſort as was both more to the Eaſe of the Subject, and more ready and proper for the Service that he had in hand. It formerly had often happened, That when the King had raiſed what Power he could make againſt the Enemy, approaching one way, before his Forces could meet with that Enemy, they were called back by Tidings of the Approach of a greater Hoſt another way; and e're they could reſolve which to purſue, News came they muſt leave both, and go againſt a third more dangerous than either of them. And when their Preſence perhaps had been ſufficient to have overcome the Enemy, they themſelves were overthrown of their own Toil, Diſtraction, and Harrowing up and down. Therefore *Alfred*, having in all his Cities and Forts placed ſufficient and conſtant Garriſons, the Reſidue of the People, that were to ſerve as occaſion required, he ſo diſtributed into Diviſions, that what Levy ſoever was in any Place to be made, an anſwerable Part remained unlevied at preſent, which was ready at a ſet time in an ordinary Courſe to Relieve them, by ſupplying their Turn, or (being haſtened upon occaſion) to render them a timely Succour. Withall his Men being well diſciplined and exerciſed in their Courſes, they not only knew the certain Times and Duty of their Service, but finding both their Eaſe and Benefit by it, did it with that Alacrity, that much advanced the Service that they went about.

Fortifies his Borders.

Orders his Levies of Men.

100. So notable was the Manage of the King's Affairs, during the time that the War was a little remiſs, as that the Natives (whereof many hitherto did ſtill

[1] This was in the Year DCCCLXXXVII.

adhere

adhere unto the Enemy, many chaced away by him lived in Exile abroad, hidden and disperſed where they could find any Place) upon ſo manifeſt Effects of Wiſdom and good Conduct in the King, now wholly from all Parts came in and rendred themſelves and their Fidelity unto their common Lord. So as now conſidering that the *Engliſh* (henceforth the common Name of all the ſeveral *Saxons*) had entirely as it were atturned to him, the *Danes*, wheresoe're ſettled in the Kingdom, were upon Terms of aſſured Subjection, acknowledging Sovereignty in *Alfred*, and giving Hoſtages to ſecure him of their Fidelity, the Forreigner, after ſundry Aſſaies of Entrance, voluntarily quitting the Iſle again, as a Place not affording him any ſafe Footing, and the Land for 10 or 12 Years together enjoying a reaſonable Meaſure of Reſt and Quiet. One would have thought that Peace had now undertaken the Founding of the Monarchy, and, wholly intent to that great Work, had ſhut the Doors againſt any further Diſturbance from abroad.

101. But ſo ſweet it ſeems was the Reliſh of the Country to thoſe that had once taſted of it, that how well ſoever they ſped in other Places, what they got abroad they deſired to have injoyed here. And therefore when thoſe great Armies of Prey, that from hence had put over into *Eaſt* and *Weſt France*, and, there (by daily Acceſſions and Union of divers of their Country and Condition) from time to time augmented, had, under the Leading of *Haſtings*, by the ſpace of 12 or 13 years together, to and fro ravaged all thoſe Countries up the *Meuſe*, the *Scheld*, *&c.* and again the *Yenne*, the *Marne*, the *Somme*, the *Ione*, *&c.* and conſumed to Aſhes in that Waſte of theirs above [1] 900 Houſes of Religion, were now grown ſo formidable to all the Provinces of *France*, as that *Arnulph* the Emperor, then King of the *Franks*, to free his Country from ſo great a Miſery, was driven (beſides the Power of the *French*,) to come with his Imperial Forces the *Saxons* and *Ba-*

[1] *Lamb.* 204.

varians

vatians to reſiſt them, when he with their Help had once or twice proſperouſly and with great Slaughters warred upon them, and ſtill bent himſelf to their Proſecution, the *Danes* in the End, having had the Spoil of all the Towns upon the forenamed Rivers, (*Paris* only excepted) and wonderfully provided of Horſe and Shipping, aſſemble at *Bullogne*, and thence in the year 893 with 330 Sail of Ships, and with greater Hopes than ever yet, they put again for *England*, 250 of them land in *Kent*, in the Mouth of the [1] *Rowther*, where *Rhy* ſtands, and ſearching up the River as far as *Appledore*, they there ſurpriſe an Old Fort, kept with a ſmall Garriſon, raze it, and in the place make themſelves a ſtrong and more capacious Fortification.

330 ſail of *Danes* from *France*.

893.

80 Parones.

102. The other 80 Sail, conducted by *Haſtings* himſelf (who was now grown a Man of great Eminence and Repute) arrive in the Mouth of the *Thames*, and coming on Land at *Middleton* upon the Wells in *Kent*,

---

1 The *Sax. Chron.* calls it *Limene*. And ſo, with a little variation, the other old Writers. Which however is not denied to be the ſame with what is now call'd the *Rother*. But our Author is certainly miſtaken in ſuppoſing the Mouth of it in thoſe Times to be where *Rhy* now ſtands. For there is no doubt to be made that 'twas at *New Romney*, the Channel being alter'd by a violent Tempeſt in the Reign of *Edw.* I. Indeed *Antoninus* places *pons Lemanis* [or rather *portus Lemanis*, as in the MSS. Lections placed in a Copy of *Surita's* Edition, in Bibl. Bodl. 8vo D. 116. *Linc.* which came out of Dr. *Bernard's* Study. I find it alſo *portus Lemanis* in the Editions before *Surita*; and ſo 'twas alſo in the Copies of *Antoninus* made uſe of by Dr. *Rob. Talbot* in his *Annotationes in eam partem Itinerarii Antonini quæ ad Britanniam ſpectat*, MS. in Bibl. Bodl. Muſ. 243. which is the very Copy made uſe of by Mr. *Burton* in his Commentary upon the ſame Part of *Antoninus*, who likewiſe reads *portus Lemanis*, pag. 193.] but XVI. Miles from *Durovernum* [*Duraverno* in the ſaid MSS. Lections in *Surita's* Edition] or *Canterbury*, whereas *New Romney* is XXI. But 'twas eaſy for the Tranſcriber to put an V for an X. And tho' *Appledore* be VI Miles diſtant from *Romney*, yet the *Æſtuary* was then ſo very large (however alter'd ſince by the Change of the Channel) that *Appledore* was not above IV Miles, as hinted in the *Saxon Annals*, [p. 92. Ed. *Gibſoniana*] from the River's Mouth. [See more in Mr. *Somner's Hiſtory of the Roman Ports and Forts in Kent*, pag. 37, &c.

they

they there make themselves a very strong [1] Entrenchment.

103. It should seem by Mr. *Fox* (who, as he says himself, had other manner of Particularities concerning *Ælfred's* Life than now are extant) that there were also at this very time other Arrivals of the *Danes*, in several Places of the Kingdom, and that *Ælfred*, upon occasion of *Guthrum's* Death, (which was about this time) and, upon some Complaints of his Subjects against the In-land *Danes*, was himself in *East-Anglia*, when the Tydings of these Arrivals came unto him: but neither has Mr. *Fox* gone so far as to relate any thing of their Doings, neither find we elsewhere any mention of them, the Actions of *Ælfred*, and his time, being from the year 886, in which *Asser Menevensis* left them, more scanted and interruptedly delivered than before. But taking them as they are, we find, That, *Guthrum* being dead, *Ælfred* [2] opportunely 894.
caused the *Northumbrian* and *East-Angle Danes* to renew their Oaths of Fidelity, and to that end took six new [3] Hostages of them.

104. The Noise of the Arrival of these so great Forces of *Danes* unties all Bonds of Faith and Obedience between those that were settled here before and *Ælfred* their Sovereign, the Hope of Gain and Booty prevailing more with them than the Remembrance of Faith and Oath, (though in many of them sealed with Baptism) more than the Forfeiture of their Hostages, and (which in nobler Minds would have prevailed till Death) more than their Gratitude to the King, that had so oft obliged them in the Pardon of their Lives; The *Danes* rebell.

1 Part of it is still remaining, being called **Kemsley-Castle**, on **Kemsley-Down** in the Parish of *Milton* or *Middleton*, which is not far distant from *Sittingbourne*, so named from the Wells arising there, call'd by our Author *the Wells in Kent*. See *Lambard's Perambulation of Kent*, p. 204, 238.

2 *Flo. Wig.*

3 According to the *Saxon Chron. Guthrum* died *an.* 890. according to *Florence of Worc. an.* 891; yet both agree that these Hostages were given to *Ælfred an.* 894.

in

in the Restoring them their Wives, their Children, and their Goods with Liberty of Habitation among his Subjects: which when with continual Treacheries they had often forfeited, and the Chance of War had sunday times delivered into the Power of the King, he notwithstanding had remitted, and with his continual Pity multiplied their Obligations to him.

105. But all those Regards were wholly drowned now in the Expectation of some greater Matter, and not unlikely of some such Change as should have turned the Scale, and brought the *Saxons* wholly under their Subjection; therefore diligently complying with their new come Country-men in *Kent*, whensoever they began to stir, some of these were always in a readiness, and either joyned with them, or at the same time gave in upon some other Parts of the King's Territories, thereby to distract and weaken his Resistance.

106. But *Ælfred*, knowing it better to assail the Danger rather in the Head than the inferior Parts, with a Competent Levy of Men hastens into *Kent*, where, the Armies being drawn somewhat nearer together, he with his Body incamps between [1] them both in such a sort, as that he was ready provided, either to give Battle, (if the *Danes* would be drawn out of their Trenches) or otherwise to fall upon the Parties that first should give the venture to break in and forrage any further up into his Country.

The King attends the *Danish* Army.

107. In this sort stood they a while at gaze, neither of their Armies daring (for all their great Multitudes) to venture upon the King's Army: only by stealth, as they thought themselves out of his Reach, some with their Horse, where the Country was open, others on Foot, through the Covert of the Woods, ventured

1 There are yet remaining the Ruins of a small Castle call'd *Bavord-Castle* on the other side of the River opposite to *Kemsley-Castle*; where some think 'tis probable *Ælfred* incamp'd. But others believe that 'tis more likely that 'twas towards the Midland Parts of *Kent*, perhaps near *Bocton*, as being between both Armies, and affording a convenient prospect into the two Plains.

here

here and there to thieve and pillage, but, contrary to their old Success, they were from time to time so cut short by the Army, the Garrisons, or the Inhabitants, as that, finding a great Difference betwixt the Provision of the Country now, and that which formerly they had known, they found that their Expectation had deceived them. Besides, the King's well plying of his Business with the Inland-*Danes*, in renewing the Bonds of Oath and Pledges, for assurance of their Fidelity: although it had not prevailed so far as to keep them wholly within the Bounds of perfect Duty, yet it so far bridled their Perfidiousness, as that, it not ripening soon enough to afford unto these new-come *Danes* so full an Aid, in Manner, Time, and Quantities, as they relied on, it in a manner frustrated their Design. Therefore neither daring all together assail the King's Army, nor go in small Troops any more on Forrageing as before, they first dispatch their Shipping to *Merfey*-Island, in the Mouth of *Colchester* River, and then in an instant rising all together (thereby to illude the Guard that was upon them) they all at once in sundry Places fall upon the King's Country. And having for all the Army made a great Prey of Cattle upon it, they hasten by Land with their Booty toward *Essex*, that there they might meet with their Shipping. They rise and forrage *Kent*.

V. 168. The King seeing their Course, and that it was as impossible for his Forces to have restrained them, as to contain a River when in a swelling Rage he has broken down her Banks, warily minded their way and gathering together, and, in their going off, he meets at *Farnham* with the Body of the great Army that sat down at *Appledore*, suddenly sets upon them, overthrew them, forced many of them without Shipping to pass the *Thames*, where it was not Fordable, rescued the Prey, and took a good Part of the Horse which they had provided them in *France*. And that done, he sends on the Army to pursue the flying Enemy, while he himself was fain to attend some such Occasions in another Place. Part intercepted at *Farnham*.

Haſtins

109. *Haſtins* with his Army, either met by *Alfred*, and conſtrained, or elſe voluntarily (and perhaps deceitfully to abuſe him with a Treaty, while the others forraged his Country) came to an Accord with the King, and took an Oath, that he would in nothing damnify him, delivered him Hoſtages, and at his Requeſt baptized his two Sons, for which *Alfred* and *Athelred* his Son-in-law anſwered at the Font. And thereupon the King beſtowed many Gifts upon them, and let them peaceably depart, ſuppoſing that *Haſtins* would now quietly ſet down in ſome Part of the *Daniſh* Plantation, as alſo he did: but being got over the *Thames* into *Eſſex*, he went no further than *Benfleete* upon the River's ſide, and having ſtrongly, as he thought, entrenched himſelf there, he preſently with all the Power he could make, enters the King's Territories in *Mercia*, and forrages them.

Entrenched at *Benfleete*:

Forrageth *Mercia*.

110. The King's Army, that was ſent in Purſuit of the Routed *Danes*, followed after them as far as *Merſey* in *Eſſex*, and there ſat down, and beſieged them in the Iſland; but falling into want of Victuals, and the Date of their Service expiring, they return home, and *Alfred* with a freſh Supply out of the Weſt-Country haſtens the whilſt to ſucceed them. As for the Pagans they were reſolved there to abide by it, becauſe their King (or Commander of that Part of the Army) lay wounded in the Town, and could not thence be ſtirred, neither held they any Law with more Religious Obſervance, than not to deſert their Commanders until Death. But ſcarcely was *Alfred* well on his way after them, when News was brought him, that the *Northumbrian* and *Eaſt-Angle Danes* (that by no Tyes could be reſtrained when ſuch Hopes as they now had invited them) had by this time aſſembled 240. Ships, and that coming upon the Southern Coaſt with 100 Sail of them, they had put to land and beſieged *Exeter*, and that 40. Sail more of them, having faſhen a Northerly Courſe about the Iſland, had put on ſhear ſome Forces, that were ſet down before a Caſtle in *Devonſhire*,

The Inland-*Danes* enter the Weſt-Country.

shire, the Residue hovering yet about sought likewise where they best might put on shore.

111. The King, no whit troubled with the News, express'd only some Sorrow for the forces that were to go to *Mersey*, as fearing they might perhaps suffer for want of timely Relief, enflamed with desire of Rendring the *Danes* the Merit of their perfidious Outrage, presently takes back his Horse, and sending the Foot to pursue the siege at *Mersey*, hastens himself with all the speed he could to *Exeter*; and, coming thither much sooner than he was expected, so mightily interrupted the Enemies Design, as that with Amazement and Terrour they gave over the Siege, made all possible Hast to their Ships, and got away to Sea. The King relieves *Exeter*.

112. The truth was, they were too late in the Thing that they intended: for neither these, nor the new come *Danes* in *Kent*, expected any prosperous Fishing but in the Troubled Waters, which the One should mutually have procured for the other: and the King, (that never suffered time to slip in vain) having by their Slackness Leisure enough to encounter each severally, did his Work with that Expedition, as that he overthrew them, as much by their Disappointment as by Force.

113. But neither the Miscarriage of the present Action, nor fear of any Consequence of their unprosperous Rebellion, could make them forget their innate Desire of Spoil and Robbery: and therefore no sooner were these that left *Exeter* out at Sea, and believed (as they thought) to be returned back, but suddenly they put on shore again in *Sussex*, and fell on Forraging the Country about *Chichester*; but there likewise deceived in their Expectation, a great Part of them were by the Citizens and Inhabitants of the Towns thereabouts overthrown and cut in pieces, many wounded, and many of their Ships taken.

114. The Forces, that were left to go to *Mersey*, held on their Course to *London*, and there being supplyed with Citizens, and some other Aids that came

from the Weſtern Parts, they came to *Bemfleet*, in *Eſſex*; for by the way they underſtood that not only *Haſtins* was entrenched there, but the greateſt Remainder of the Army that roſe from *Appledore* (not liking, it ſeems, to attend the Recovery of their wounded King at *Merſey*, during whoſe Infirmneſs they were not to expect any profitable Imployment there) had, upon notice of *Haſtins* his Intrenchment at *Bemfleet*, and the Strength of the Place, gathered together thither to him, and united themſelves with *Haſtins* his Body, and that *Haſtins* himſelf was at that very Inſtant with a ſtrong Hand entered into the King's Country and Forraging of it. Therefore thinking that opportunity not to be let paſs, they reſolutely ſet upon the Intrenched, and Forcing the Defendants out of their Trenches, they put them to ſword or flight, razed their Works, ſeiſed upon whatſoe're they found, took many of their Wives and Children Priſoners, and amongſt them *Haſtins* his Wife and his two Sons, and brought them away to *London*. And having likewiſe ſeiſed on much of their Shipping, what they thought not for their Turn they brake or ſet on fire, and the Reſidue they brought away with them to *London* and to *Rochester*.

Haſtins's Wife and Sons Priſoners.

115. What became of the *Danes* at *Merſey* we find no further mention, ſave that in all likelyhood we conjecture that as they were before one with thoſe at *Bemfleet*, ſo they again united and went together on the ſame Deſign: but *Haſtins* being returned from Freebooting, and finding his Treachery fallen upon his own Head, in all Humiliation again applyes himſelf unto the King. And he that was not eaſier any way to be overcome, looking on his Priſoners with the Eye of Compaſſion, as on *Chriſtians*, in whom as Godfather he had particular Intereſt, ſuffers himſelf to be overcome of *Haſtins* his importunity, makes a new Agreement with him, takes more Hoſtages of him, and not only reſtores him his Wife and Children, but ſweetens that Mercy with a Liberal Taſt of his Munificence and Bounty.

Upon new Caution ſet at liberty.

116. But the beaten and ſcattered *Danes* (who ſerving

ing chiefly for Booty expected their Pay only from their own Hands) howsoever they subjected themselves to their Leaders in their successfull Actions, they yet held themselves free, and not tyed to partake of their Adversity; and therefore like Snow-balls in a Snow gathering more of their Kind by their Dispersing, grew again to a great Body, and, making head anew, came down to *Shobury* upon the *Thames* Mouth, not far from *Bemflet*, where by the Advantage of the Place they make themselves a Work of good Strength, and, being supplied with Aids out of *Northumberland* and other Parts of *East-Anglia*, they with a very strong hand fall into *Mercia*, coasting all along the Bank of the *Thames*, and stayed not 'till they came at the *Severn*, forraging and making Drifts of the Cattle that they could lay Hands on; but soon the Earls of the Counties, through which they passed, *Æthelred*, *Athelme* and *Athelnoth*, with the Captains of Garrisons and other Ministers of the King, appointed for the ordinary Defence of those Provinces, rose upon them, who having gathered together no small Army, and [1] further aided with the Help of the *Welsh*, upon the other side of the *Severn*, put them to intrench themselves at *Buttington* [2] or *Boddington* upon a little Branch of the same River in *Glocestershire*, and

The *Danes* at *Shobury* forrage.

Besieged at *Buttington*,

1 *Flo. Wig.*

2 Buttingtun, or Buttingtun on Sæfern ſtaðe, *Chron. Sax.* Budingtune juxta Severnam, *Hunt.* Ad villam quandam super flumen Sabrinæ sitam Buttingedune appellatam, *Matt. Westm.* Mr. *Walker* and Mr. *Sommer* correct our Author, the former telling us that 'tis in *Shropshire* and the latter in *Montgomeryshire*. Upon which Account Dr. *Gibson* [in *Explicatione nominum locorum* ad calcem *Chronici Sax.*] asserts that he knows of no Town of this Name upon the *Severn* in *Glocestershire*. *IN QUO TAMEN AGRO NULLUM (QUOD QUIDEM EGO SCIO) EJUS NOMINIS OPPIDUM AD* SABRINÆ *RIPAM REPERITUR*. But upon consulting Mr. *Adams's Index Villaris* and Mr. *Speed's* Table of this County, I find two Towns in this Shire answering to this Name in the old Historians, one call'd *Boddington* in *Tewksbury*-Hundred, and the other *Bodendon* upon a little Branch of the *Severn* in *Cheltenham*-Hundred, which is the Town Sir *John Spelman* means. I do not deny that *Buttington* in *Shropshire*, or rather *Montgomeryshire*, is the Place where

and there they ſtraitly beſieged them divers Weeks together, untill that the *Danes*, having firſt eaten their Cattle and then their Horſe, began at laſt to dye of Hunger and other Wants, and then, too late growing deſperate, made Sallies out and ſet upon the Beſiegers, ſuppoſing to have forced their Paſſage, ſlew divers of the King's Servants, but not able to effect what they endeavoured, were all overthrown [1] at laſt, many Thouſands of them ſlain, and the Reſidue forced to ſave themſelves by flight, in which the wild woodineſs of the Land at that time, and the waſtneſs of a great Part of *Mercia* Northward, did very much befriend them.

and overthrown.

Leiceſter ſurprifed by them.

117. Thoſe that thence eſcaped, at laſt recovering their old Works in *Eſſex*, are yet once again augmented with great Supplies out of the other Parts of *East-Anglia* and *Northumbria*. And whether they underſtood by ſome of their Stragglers how weakly *Leiceſter* was at that time guarded, (having as it happened neither Garriſon nor many Inhabitants) or whether rather thoſe few that were in the Town held Correſpondence and had ſecret Intelligence with the *Danes*; but at the Coming on of Summer they leave their Trenches, and with a direct Courſe march to [2] *Leiceſter*, and poſſeſs themſelves of the Town, before that *Ælfred* and Earl *Æthelred* (that followed them hard) could overtake them: yet the Hindmoſt of their Army with their Baggage, and ſome Booty gotten by the way, fell into the King's Hand, and were cut ſhort. But having got into the Town, which afforded them better means of Defence, than Suſtenance, (for, it ſeems, the Country thereabouts

---

where the *Danes* intrenched themſelves, there being ſome evident Tokens of Fortification yet to be ſeen there; but *He* would have done well to have made farther enquiry, before he had given his Judgment againſt Sir *John*. 1 *Flo.*

2 By ſome Authors nam'd *Wirheale*, by others *Cheſter*, which is moſt likely; unleſs we allow that here was formerly a diſtinct City of this Name, from whence the Hundred of *Wirheale* was denominated. Which yet I do not ſee how it can well be; ſince this Hundred, as appears from Doomsday-Book, was more Anciently call'd Wilaveſton,

lay

lay waſt, ſave only that there was ſome little Corn and Cattle near about the City) the King beſieged them two Days in it, and then, either called back upon other occaſion, or adviſed that it was not worth their further Attendance, they give the Corn that there was growing in Forrage to their Horſes, or ſet fire on it, drive away the Cattle all thereabout, and gave the Siege over.

118. The Pagans being at liberty quickly leave the Town, and fall down upon the *Britains* in *North-Wales*, and waſting a large Space of their Country return with a very great Booty; but not daring to venture back through the Province of *Mercia*, they drive about with their Prey by the Borders of *Northumbria* into *E. Anglia*, and ſo again to *Merſey*; where being now fleſht, and refreſht with their Proſperous Booty, they reſolve to bring their Neſtling a little nearer the King's Territories; and therefore coming about with their Shipping up the *Thames* as far as the River *Lea*, they then tough them up that River, and begin to make themſelves a very ſtrong and great Fortification, about the Place where *Hartford* now ſtands, within 20 Miles of the City of *London*. This the *Londoners* underſtanding, and fearing their ſo near Neighbourhood would be very troubleſome unto them, they thought it beſt by all means to diſturb their Works and not to ſuffer them to ſettle there. And getting ſome Aids from their Neighbours, they with a good ſtrong hand aſſailed the *Danes*, and would have beaten them out of their Trenches; but it fell out to be a Work of more difficult than they expected, they received Loſs in the Action, two or three of the King's Servants of good note were ſlain, and the *Londoners* forced to give over the Attempt.

And relinquiſhed.

The *Danes* come to *Hartford*. 895.

Are in vain aſſailed by the *Londoners*.

119. They having failed of what they intended, the King himſelf with ſome ſmall Forces comes and views the Place and Preparation of the *Danes*, and finding (it ſeems) the *Danes* betaken to their Hold, he diſpoſes of his Forces in ſome convenient Places, for the Guard and Security of the Corn growing about the City, and

896. The King ſets a Guard upon them.

the Parts near adjoyning to the *Daniſh* Army, leaſt (Harveſt being near at hand) they might on the ſudden either burn their Corn or carry it away. And then viewing well the Courſe of the River *Lea* as he rode along the Banks, he alters the Channel of the River, and, as the Monk of *Worceſter* reports, cauſed it to be ſtraitened with Dams and Peires that the *Danes* might not bring out their Ships again; but *H. Huntington* (to whoſe Opinion I rather incline) ſaith that he cauſed the Mouth of the *Lea* to be opened and divided into three Parts, there being (it ſeems) ſome Straitneſs before toward the Mouth which kept up the waters above, and at a low water made a great Deſcent of the Current, as we may perceive by the *Danes* toughing of their Ships up againſt it.

And moares their Ships.

120. The Mouth being opened into three ſeveral Branches, it laid the Stream ſo low as moared their Ships, ſo as they could not at their pleaſure have them forth again. And (by the way) it is not improbable, that the Cutting of the River *Lea* [1] in this ſort might be the firſt winning of that great Level of rich Meadow and Paſture from *Hartford* unto *Bow*, which divers ways now beneficial, through the Fertility thereof both to the City and the Towns adjoyning, is likely enough to have been formerly but only Fenns and Waters, and to have had the Improvement of it firſt occaſioned by this Act of the King's.

The *Danes* leave *Hartford.*

121. The *Danes* being hereby not only bereaved of the uſe of their Ships, but alſo of their free Acceſs with Succours and Supplies unto their Caſtle, quit them both, and ſuddenly make another Outroad into the Weſtern Parts of *England*, unto a Town upon the *Severn's* ſide called [2] *Quatbridge*, (perhaps *Quatford* by *Bridgnorth*)

And enter *Quatford* in *Shropſhire.*

1 Concerning which ſee more in Sir *Will. Dugdale's Hiſtory of Imbanking and Draining*, p. 74.

2 Cpat-bpicge, *Chron. Sax.* *Cantbrige*, Æthelw. *Quatbrig*, Flo. Wig. *Quantebrige*, Matt. Weſtm. [as in the printed Copies; but *Cantebrigge* in MS. *Laud.* L. 44. *Cantebrege* in MS. 193. Muſei Bodl. *Cantebregge* in MS. *Hatton.* 97.] *Quadrige*, Hunt. *Brugges*, Bromt. Mr.

north) and there with all the Expedition that they could they made themſelves a Place of Defence, in which with much ado that year they wintered, while the *Londoners* ſeiſe their Ships and Works they left upon the *Lea* in *Eſſex*.

122. The *Saxons* now began to find a little Eaſe in that the War abated ſomewhat of the Toile that it had formerly given them. But long it was not before there followed a marvellous Plague and Mortality both of Man and Beaſts, which for three years together at this time raged throughout the Land in ſuch ſort, as that it much diſadvantaged the King's Affairs, by ſetting ſo ſore among his Officers and chief Miniſters of State: of whom were the two Biſhops, *Suithulfe* of *Rocheſter* and *Elheard* Biſhop of *Dorcheſter*; *Ceolmond* Earl of *Kent*, and *Beorthulf* Earl of *Eſſex*; the Prefect of *Surry*, and the Prefect of *Wiltſhire*, and many other. A ſore Mortality.

123. The *Danes* having hardly enough wintered at *Quatbridge*, and not knowing where to beſtow themſelves, at the Coming on of Summer they diſband and ſever, ſome of them into *Northumbria*, ſome into *Eaſt-Anglia*, as their Fortunes gave them Entertainment; but a great many of them, finding no Place of Reſt, again put over Sea to try what better Fortune they could make in *France*. 897. The *Danes* diſband.

124. The *Danes* that remained yet unſettled being now utterly broken and beaten out of heart in all their The laſt Remainder of them exerciſe Piracy.

Mr. *Sumner* is of opinion that 'tis the ſame Town that is now call'd *Cambridge* in *Glocesterſhire*, not far from a Branch of the River *Severn*, call'd *Cam*. But this Conjecture, as Dr. *Gibſon* [in *Explicat. nom. locor. ad fin. Chron. Sax.*] has very well obſerv'd, ſeems improbable from the Diſtance between the *Severn* and *Cambridge*, which is at leaſt two Miles, and conſequently very badly ſituated to anſwer the End of the *Danes* in raiſing this Fortreſs, which was to obſtruct the Paſſage of the King's Ships up this River. Upon which Account, conſidering that one MS. of the *Saxon Chron.* calls it Bricge, which is the Name 'tis vulgarly call'd by now, and that *Quatford* is not above a mile from it, he inclines to our celebrated Author's Opinion that 'tis the ſame with *Bridge-North* and *Quatford* in *Shropſhire*. And of this Opinion likewiſe was Mr. *Leland*, as appears from the firſt Vol. of his Collections, f. 199. a.

Attempts

Attempts on Land, and becoming a Pestre and Surcharge unto their own Plantations, they provide them Shipping, repair certain long swift Vessels, that they had formerly used for Piracy, and making themselves as strong at Sea as possibly they could, they for a while anew annoy the Coasterly Parts of the *English* Territories, under the Leading of one *Sigefert*, a famous *Northumbrian* Pirate, until such time as that *Ælfred*, having understood the Advantage of the Pirates Shipping, caused other Shipping forthwith to be built, that (say the Authors) were as long again, as tall again, as swift again, and withal more steddy in Sail than those of the Pagans. And having caused them to be well manned and put to Sea, he took the same year 20 Sail of the Pirates Ships, whereof the Men that were taken alive being brought to Land, and in exemplar Terrour hanged on the Coasts, the Pirates found that Course likewise as unprosperous as their former, and therefore soon gave over that unsuccessful Trade.

But without Success.

125. By this time *Ælfred* had not only overthrown, but wholly subdued the *Danes*. And though (according to the Fiction of *Achelous*, who often changed his Shape in his Combat with *Hercules*) they with their Falshood and Shiftings did often in Variety of Courses renew their War and Fightings with the King, yet he again as truly personating *Hercules* mastered them in all their Changes both by Sea and Land, and did not only get, but also keep the Mastery of them, reducing the over large Extent of their first granted Dominion to a less and more fitting Circuit. For all *Northumbria* [1] was at once taken from them and given to *Guthred* [2] a *Christian* and a *Saxon*, though of *Danish* Original. And

1 *Ingulf.*

2 Yet for all this *Guthred* was subject to the Commands of *Ælfred*, and had no Power of Acting any Matters of greater Moment without his Authority. For tho' he granted Peace to the Church of *Durham* for 37 Days, and annexed to it for ever the Lands between the *Tyne* and the *Tine*, yet this was not done without the Confirmation of King *Ælfred*, as appears both from *Simeon of Durham*, and the *Monasticon Anglicanum*.

the

the [1] Province of *Essex* (which was Part of their Kingdom of *East-Anglia*) was it seems taken into the King's own Hands, of which he made the forenamed *Bertheolf*, a *Saxon*, Duke or Earl. The Residue he assured to himself by Hostages and sufficient Caution.

126. And least that there should want any thing to the Entireing of *Alfred* in the Monarchy of the whole Kingdom of *England*, The *Welsh*, that hitherto (for all the Victories that *Egbert*, *Alfred*'s Grandfather, had had of them) held out still, and could not be won unto the *English* Subjection, they now came in and submitted themselves unto his Government; that is to say [2] the several Kings of the whole Region of *South-Wales*, called *Pars dextralis Britanniæ*, (which being the Ancient Seat of the *Silures* and of the *Demetæ* contained eight of the fourteen Counties of *Wales*) some of them seeking Protection against the Sons of *Rother* (who seems to have been a Potent King in *North-Wales*) and [3] others of them flying the Persecution of *Eadred* [4], a fierce *Mercian* Leader, whom it seems they provoked to their own Hurt. These had long before put themselves under the King's Obedience. And then at last *Anarawt* also, the said *Rother*'s Son, with all his Brethren, forsaking the Confederation of the *Northumbrian Danes*, (with whom they had long time in secret combined) of their own Accord came unto the King, and being honourably entertained by him, *Anarawt* there received Confirmation of his *Christianity* under the Hands of a Bishop, and yielded [5] to be in the same Sub- The *Welsh* subject themselves to the King.

1 *Flo. Wig.* 2 *Asser. Men. Camden.* 3 *Asser.*

4 These Affairs of the *Welch* fell out about the year DCCCLXXXIV; but our Author has not inserted them in due order of Time, that he might not break off the Thread of his former Discourse. The *Welch* had been subdu'd long before; but observing *Alfred* to be ingag'd in other Wars, they thought it a convenient Season now to break off their Obedience. *Eadred* was not Earl of *Mercia* but *Devonshire*; as is plain from *John Bromton's* Chron. and seems also confirm'd from *Asser*, who tells us that the *Welch* were assisted by *Eadred* and the *Mercians*, without acquainting us what Place he was Earl of.

5 *Asser. Men.*

jection

jection unto the King, both he and his People, that *Æthered* the Earl of *Mercia* (the King's Son-in-Law) and the *Mercians* were.

127. And thus at last have we beheld *Ælfred*, by his own Act and Personal Virtue, first subduing the overpowerfully Enemy, and making way to the Reducing of the broken Reliques of the *Saxon-Heptarchy* into an intire and absolute Monarchy. Next we see him constant and successful in that Course. And in the end (as it is an usual Consequent of great and eminent Virtues) we see him by the Reputation of his Doings [1] brought unto the End of his work, and become sole Sovereign of the whole Island; as also we see him styled in his Life Time by *Asser* of St. *David's* in the Title Dedicatory of his *Annals*, viz. *To my Venerable Lord, and the most pious Governour of all the* Christians *of the Isle of* Britain, Ælfred *King of the* English-Saxons, *&c.*

128. Neither is this any thing contradicted by that which we have shewn that *Ælfred* in the Title of his Laws, in his Preface to *Gregorie's* Pastoral, and in his Will, useth no other Title than King of *West-Saxons* only. For (beside that he was slow to assume great Titles) it appeareth both by Persons named in them, and by other Circumstances, that all they were made before he had yet wholly reduced the Kingdom under his Obedience. Neither was he only *Potentially* Sovereign of all, in the sense that *Ulysses* makes himself the Overthrower of *Troy*,

Pergama tunc vici quum vinci posse coëgi;

but he was indeed more *Actually* Sovereign than he seemed to be. He not only prepared the Ground, but he planted the Tree, though it flourished more in the Times of his Successours, and therefore *Malmesbury*

1. Geograp. *Edw. Higgens* lib. 6. cap. 8. *Hollingshed* fol. 121. That he reigned over the whole Monarchy of *Great Britain*, and expressly That *Gregour* King of *Scots* obeyed him and served him in all his Wars, and likewise his Successour *Donald* served him with 5000 Horse and dyed in his Service. SPELMAN.

(one

(one of the moſt Judicious of our *Monkiſh* Writers) recounting the Extent and Glory of his Son *Edward the Elder's* Reign, he adds, *De his licet merito* Edwardus *laudetur, palma tamen potiſſimum debetur patri per meum arbitrium qui tantæ potentiæ fecit auſpicium. Though* Edward (ſaith he) *in theſe things is to be commended, yet the Glory of all* (*in my Judgment*) *belongs to his Father* (Ælfred), *who proſperouſly firſt made the way to all that Greatneſs.*

129. Yet when we ſpeak of *Ælfred's* Abſoluteneſs, it muſt always be underſtood of ſuch a Kind of Abſoluteneſs and Sovereignty as was agreeable to the Condition of thoſe Warlike Times. Otherwiſe it will perhaps be as hard to find the Kingdom of *England* to be wholly reduced under the Obedience of any Monarch whatſoever before the Conqueſt, as under K. *Ælfred*; nay not perfectly perhaps reduced under divers Monarchs that were after the Conqueſt. For the *Ordovices* or Inhabitants of *North Wales*, being naturally of troubleſome Spirits, and ſeconded thereto by the apt Site of their Country, are ſcarce accounted to have been abſolutely reduced before *Edward* the Firſt, his Time, which was above 200 years after the Conqueſt.

Conquest

Ælfred

Ælfred the Great,

First Founder of the *English* MONARCHY.

BOOK II.

Containing His Laws and Political Government.

AS God, (after the first Creation perfected) in the greatest of all his ensuing Works in the World, to wit, the Founding, Rearing and Perfecting of States, Kingdoms, Monarchs and the like, seldom or never wrought by his Omnipotent Power alone, but with the Service and Ministery of Man; so again (that in all Ages his Omnipotence might nevertheless appear) he never had an extraordinary Work in hand, but that he provided himself of Men, fitted with Gifts so proper for the Service, and some of them endowed with such a superlative Measure of Spirit above the ordinary, as that it is not readily to be determined, whether his Power, considered in the Work it self, appeared more excellent, or in the Men that were his Instruments. A marvelous Instance, among many other, is the Life of this Prince, in whom, as toward a new Creation, we may discern the Spirit of God moving upon the Face of the Universal Chaos of this State, and giving it Being and Form, together with the first Principles of that Life, Beauty, and Perfections, that after Ages have since ripened it into.

2. What

2. What Difficult *Ælfred* had to recover the Land from the Uſurpation of the Pagan *Danes*, and to make it a Platform fit and capable of an Imperial State, is all that hitherto we have endeavoured to ſet forth, and (according to the ſcant Memorials thereof remaining) we have made ſuch Repreſentation as you have already ſeen. It ſhall not be unworthy of our Labour now, to caſt an Eye a little to behold with what Induſtry, Care, and Providence, he proceeded to the Planting, and Furniſhing of the State in ſuch a Sort, as that it ſhould neither be defective in any thing, conducing to the Felicity of the Subject, neither yet to the eternal Glory of an Empire. And while we ſhew the Imperial State of this Land to have received the firſt Modeling from the Act of his Hand, it is fit that we alſo obſerve the Juſtice of that Act in his particular; for that it does not always fall out, that Founders of Empires do well obſerve the Rule of Juſtice, neither are ſmaller Kingdoms, or Signories, always brought into the Form of one entire Imperial State under one and the ſame common Laws and Policy, without ſome Injuſtice to the particular Subject.

3. But *Ælfred* having prevailed over a War, that had deſtroyed all the other Kingdoms of the *Saxon Heptarchy*; there were no Surviving Rights of any of them againſt which he could be a Treſpaſſer. And as there is no Authority more abſolute than that which neceſſarily follows the Manage of the Sword, ſo he, winning the Land with his Sword out of the Hand of an Enemy, had his Dominion, for Extent, as large as the Land it ſelf; and, for Juriſdiction, at the Determination of his own will. And being become not only greater than all his Anceſtors, but even the moſt abſolute that a Sovereign could be, and all by his own Acquiſition, it was now in a manner to proceed from him what ſhould be Law and Right. But as he had in himſelf a ſtrong Impreſſion of that Rule, which gives both Life and Regulation to all warrantable Laws, and which the more he Subjected himſelf unto, the more truly free,

Ælfred a moſt Abſolute Monarch.

free, and absolute indeed he was; so sought he by the Communion of the same to his Subjects, to establish unto them a fit and a reasonable Liberty, and by subjecting them only to the equitable Tryal of a known and certain Law, so make himself Sovereign of a Free People.

He maketh Laws.

4. While therefore his Sword had scarce well enough cleared the way unto his Scepter, he bestowed his Thoughts in nothing more than in preparing of Laws: wisely foreseeing, that as good and proper Laws have a material Effect in the first Forming of the People's Manners, so nothing is of greater Consequence to the future Glory and Prosperity of any State, than are the fit and right framed Manners of the People. And for attaining of this, his Aim was wholly to have his Laws pursue the Rule of Equity, and the Word of God, and not any Propriety of Frame, which either the general Rule of Empire or the peculiar Condition of the Kingdom might require: always magnifying Justice, and rightly understanding, That Justice is the Establishment of a Kindom, as well in the Practise of it by the People, as in the Administration of it by the Prince.

Seeketh those that are most equal.

5. In the Composing of his Laws, he so much desired to find out those that were best and most equal, as that he is said to have made search into all Laws, both Divine and Humane, that he could light on; and first and chiefly those of the Old and New Testaments, and, after them, the Laws of the *Trojans* [1], *Grecians*, *Britains*, and *Danes*; some of which he translated, and out

1 Kyng Alurede, [Aluered (& sic mox) MS. Seld. in Bibl. Bodl. Arch. B. 26.] the Lawes of Troye and Brute
Lawes Molunuynes, [Molunuyne's MS.] and Marcians congregate
With Danishe [Danyshe MS.] Lawes, that were well [rectius wele, ut in MS.] constitute
And Grekishe [Grekyshe als wele MS.] also, well made and approbate
In Englishe [Englishe tong he bid hem alle MS.] tongue, he theim all translate

Whiche

out of others he made Collections, and from them he composed. (I cannot say a Digest or Perfect Body of

---

Whiche yet [yit ben MS.] bee called, the Lawes of Alurede At Westminster, [Westmynstre MS.] remembred [yit addit MS. recte.] in bede.

S8 *John Harding*, [*Chron.* fol. 111. b.] relying upon the Authority of *Geoffry of Monmouth*. But there are some, (amongst whom is the Anonymous Author of certain Observations in MS. upon K. *Alfred* in *University* College Library, which were shew'd me by my most worthy Friend and Patron Dr. *HUDSON*) who are of Opinion that this is false; since 'tis certain what *Geoffry* has deliver'd is for the most part fabulous, and *Gildas* complains of the small Number of *British* Monuments in his Time, not to insist upon the gross Ignorance in the Time of *Nennius*. Sir *Hen. Spelman* also [*Gloss.* voc. *Lex*] seems to agree with these Authors. And the thing it self is plainly contradicted by *Alfred* himself, who in the Conclusion of his Laws informs us that whatsoever he found worthy of Observation in the Time of King *Ina* his Kinsman, of *Offa* King of the *Mercians*, or of *Ethelbert* the first Christen'd King, he had gathered them all together and committed those to writing which he thought most deserving, omitting the rest which appear'd to be of less moment. So that his Laws were nothing as it were but a Transcript of those of *Ethelbert*, &c. I must confess that this is a very plausible Supposition; but as I do not altogether reject the Story of *Geoffry*, so do I believe that here is a great deal of Truth in this particular. For tho' *Ethelbert* was the first that reduc'd the *Saxon* Laws into Writing, yet it does not hence follow that they were wholly ignorant before of the Laws here mention'd. The *Greeks* frequented this Island, as Mr. *Camden* has evidently made out. And divers *Roman* Colonies had been planted here. *Agricola* had Establish'd Civility amongst the *Britains* whilst he was Lieutenant. The *Druids* were celebrated for their Learning. And *Julius Cæsar* himself has given us an Excellent Account of their Constitutions, which shew they were good Lawyers. I know he tells us they had no Books for their Scholars to learn by; but however he withall affirms that they had divers Writings, which *Strabo* [*Geogr.* lib. IV.] very well explains, acquainting us that the *Gauls* writ their Contracts and Covenants, Bargains and Agreements, in *Greek*, a Language they affected by reason *Marseilles*, a City of *France*, was a *Greek* Colony of the *Phocicians*. Upon which Account notwithstanding *Alfred* for the most part followed the Laws of his foresaid *Saxon* Predecessors, (if we may guess from what are now extant, which however were only those made whilst he was King of the *West-Saxons*, as our Author observes) yet he also consider'd the Laws of other Countries, especially those mention'd by our Author, and so far made use of them, as he found would be most agreeable to his New Constitution of the *English* Governments.

Law Universal, though he seemeth to have had that in Design, but) some such Additions (at the least) to those that were already generally known and received, as might make them perfect, and authorize them to become a Common-Law to the whole Nation: allowing, abolishing, and altering the former, according to the Exigence of the Times, and the present Condition of the People, which now required other Provisions, than were in use in the time of the divided *Heptarchy*.

Most of his Collections of that kind lost.

6. But howsoever it be apparent, that the King took no small Pains for the Composing of Laws, and has in all Ages since been celebrated for the great Founder of our *English* Laws; yet find we not extant a Work of such a nature as can give Satisfaction, that it was the true and proper Result of those his Travels. As for his Laws that are extant, and published by Mr. *Lambard* in his Collection of the Laws of the *Saxon* Kings, though by way of Preamble they make a solemn Recital of the *Decalogue*, as also of such of the Apostolical Constitutions, as are found in the *Acts of the Apostles*, yet doth it appear by the Preface that they were Laws that were made while he was yet King of the *West-Saxons* only. And Mr. *Lambard* (as appeareth by his placing of them) taketh them to have preceded the Laws that were made upon the Occasion of the first subjection of the *Danes*, before which *Alfred* had little Leisure to make any great Provision for any thing but the present Safety of himself and People. Nor is it to be doubted but that if they had been made, after that *Alfred* alone had had the Administration of the whole Kingdom, they would have contained Ordinances concerning the Regulating and Establishing of divers things that necessarily followed the Matters then in Action: as namely, Provisions for the constant Defence of the Kingdom and Resistance of the Enemy, not temporary, as those that in a martial way had only Respect to present Necessity, but in a civil and perpetual Establishment. They would likely also have contained something concerning the Division of the Kingdom into

Shires,

Shires, and his Institution of Frebourgs and Decennaries, which we see they do not; neither find we among them any mention of the Laws for tying of Men of Ability to set their Sons to School, nor for disabling of Persons Excommunicate from sueing for any thing. Neither find we where he confirmed the Liberties which his Father granted to the Church, and enlarged the Grant and made it general [2] over all *England*. Yet these things are ascribed to him. And that we may be assured that we have not Memorials of all that he did in this kind, Mr. *Lambard* in his Epistle to his *Saxon* Laws gives us notice that there were *Saxonicarum Legum Ælfredi fragmenta recondita*, which also he put the world in hope, he would seek out and publish [3]. By all which we may judge, that either he lived not to perfect a Work of so great Weight and Travel, or else he found not the Times able to comport so great an Innovation, as perhaps would follow the Introducing of them all at once at one entire Act; in which Regard we may conceive that some of them only (and those by divers Ordinances and at several times) were put in Execution; but for the main of them, they have so perished (as well to Remembrance as to Execution) as that

1 *Hollingshed.* Des. Brit.

2 The Granting of Tythes and Establishing the Rights of the Church over all *England* must needs be *Ælfred's* Work. For when no one but he could do it universally, we find no mention of the *Heptarchs* that did it in their several Kingdoms but only his Ancestors. And we see that *Ælfred* with his first Accord with the *Dane* (whose Plantation was clean without the Kingdom of *West-Saxons*, viz. in *Norfolk* and *Yorkshire*) tyes him to the Payment of Tythes, and keeping the Peace and Rights of the Church, which had been very strange he should have tyed a Heathen Stranger unto, if they had not been first established universally over all the *Christian* Natives among whom the Stranger lived. SPELMAN.

3 If we may credit the *Mirrour of Justices* written by *Andrew Horne*, who liv'd at that Time, not only the Laws of King *Ælfred*, but a History of his Judgments also were extant in the Reign of King *Edw. I.* (*post Conquest.*) His Laws were likewise made use of at *Westminster* in the Reign of *Edw.* IV. as appears from the above cited Passage of *John Harding*.

there is neither Original, nor Copy of them, now found among us.

7. It would not be passed over unobserved that in the Recitation of the Decalogue before spoken of, the second Commandment concerning the making of Graven Images is (according to the usage that followed the second *Nicene* Council, about an 100 years before celebrated) wholly omitted in the proper place. But then (as if supplyed out of the Text it self, to make perfect that that was imperfect before) after the Recital of the tenth Commandment, there follows for a tenth, *Thou shalt not make to thy self any Golden Gods*: which being inserted by the King himself remains as a Note of the Corruption of the Church at that time, and of the Uprightness of the King's Profession notwithstanding.

8. For those Laws of *Ælfred* that are extant, they are of three several Heads: of which the first only do (in Mr. *Lambard*'s Edition) bear the Title of *Ælfred*'s Laws. The other are the beforementioned Constitutions which we have already spoken of, and bear the Titles, the one *Fœdus* Ælfredi & Guthrumni; the other *Fœdus* Edwardi & Guthrumni.

9. Now all these Laws, though (compared with the Laws of later times) they seem plain and simple, yet are they of the same Tenour and as elaborate as any of the Laws of the Times, that they were made in; witness the published Laws [1] of the Ancient *Saxons*, of the *Goths*, *Longobards*, and other Northern Nations inhabiting the Western Parts of *Europe*. And this we must note by the way, That the Curiosity and Intricacy of Laws grew not 'till settled Peace and Increase of Falshood and Contention extended the Laws to the Regulating of the Course of Suits, and to the Determination of divers things concerning Interest, whether Possessory or of Inheritance; whereas at these Times the Laws for

1 A Body of them was published in *Folio* first by *Heroldus* at *Basil.* MDLVII, and afterwards by *Lindenbrogius* at *Franc.* MDCXIII. Those who are vers'd in the *Saxon* Language are against our Author's Opinion about the Stile of *Ælfred*'s Laws.

the

the general extended only to Manners, to Matters criminal, to Force, and to Treſpaſs. And certainly as to that Point, the Rule of Equity has in theſe been well purſued: neither have ſucceeding Ages receded from them (for they were once the Laws of this Kingdom) upon any better Advice of what was more equal, but rather upon the ſole conſideration of the Conſequence of Things; wherein Fear being the Agent has, for prevention ſake, oftentimes enacted more ſeverely, than Equity, for meer Puniſhment of the Fact, would of it ſelf have done.

Thoſe that are extant are merciful.

10. In theſe Laws[1] therefore we may obſerve, a great Regard to be had of Life, in compariſon of what we find in the Laws of later Ages, which, for Remedy of very ſmall Offences, have too ready a Reſort to Bloud; whereas in *Ælfred*'s Laws the ſevereſt Puniſhments were, The Cutting off of the Tongue in falſe and Seditious Speeches, The Loſs of the Hand in Sacrilege, The Loſs of Life in the Attempt of Treaſon, whether it were High Treaſon againſt the Prince, or inferiour Treaſon againſt the Perſon of an Earl, or other Meaner Lord. Likewiſe Fighting, or Drawing of a Weapon in the King's Hall, was Forfeiture of Life unto the Mercy of the King.

11. But in all theſe Offences, the Puniſhment might for the moſt part have been redeemed, if the Party delinquent were of Ability to make a Ranſom. For the Rule of Juſtice in thoſe Days was this. The Perſon of every one from the King to the Bondman, and every Limb and Member of every Perſon, was valued at a certain Eſtimation. Whoſoever then killed a Man, or did him Violence, he could but make Recompence according to the valuation of the Perſon ſlain or injured. And in caſe of Slaughter, that Recompence or Mulct was called the *Weregild*, which if the Slayer paid, the King had the firſt Part, which was called *Frith-bote* for the Breach of his Peace, and loſs of his Subject. The

1 They are not ſo mild as our Author makes them, being much ſeverer than thoſe of the *German Saxons* publiſh'd by *Lindenbrogius*.

Lord had another, for the loss of his Man, which was called *Man-bote*. And the Kin of the slain the third, for their Loss and Diminution, called *Mag-bote*, or *Cengild*. And this if it were not paid, the Life of the Delinquent was exposed to the Kinsmen of the slain, as to the Avengers of Bloud, according to the Law of *Moses*. And as the Kindred had Reparation for their Loss, so were they subject to Payment for their Kinsman, if, when he had killed a Man, he were not able to pay the *Weregild*; for then he fled for his own Safety, and the Kindred, or sometimes (as the Case stood) the [1] Neighbourhood, or Houshold, paid the Kindred of the slain a third part of the *Weregild*, and sometimes the half. If the Forfeiture of an inferiour Offence, that were less than Manslaughter, were not paid, the final Punishment was, according to the Law of Taliation, Limb for Limb and Tooth for Tooth, sometimes Imprisonment, and the most frequent or rather only Punishment for Bondmen was the Whip.

12. There is not among all these Laws of *Ælfred* but one only Law that medleth any thing with Right or Inheritance, and that is, That [2] no Man that had Land left him by any Kinsman, with Condition that he should not alien it, whether the Condition appeared by Writing or by Witness, might sell that Land to any but his Kindred; whence probably arose the use of [3] Inhe[ritances not always following the Heirs themselves in perpetuity, but some certain Persons, unless any cutting off intervene.]

13. It is very remarkable for those Times, That in the Laws that were made upon occasion of the *Danish* Subjection, the which in every Article are Religious, namely, for Maintaining the true Worship of God, the Peace of the Church, and the Rights and Duties of the same, as Tythes and the like, it is there ordained, That

1 Ꝺa ꝛeꝝ'lꝺan ꝛiꝺen, i.e. Solvant contubernales. LL. *Ælf.* c. 17.

2 See *Selden's Analecta*, l. II. c. 5. p. 102. Ed. MDCLIII. and *Sommer's Treatise of Gavel-kynd*, p. 84. *Lond.* MDCLX. 4to.

3 Uncis inclusa desunt autographo.

if

if any one in orders steal, fight, forswear, or commit Fornication, beside his Penance and Spiritual Satisfaction according to the Canon, he should make temporal Satisfaction according to the Law, by *Weregild*, *Fine* and *Law-slight*, as the Case required; and should find Sureties of his good Behaviour or go to Prison. And that if a Priest did commit abuse in bidding of Fasts or Holy-days, fayled in preparing the *Chrisme*, or denyed Baptism: if he were an *Englishman* he should be grievously fined to the King; if a *Dane* he should pay his *Law-slights*.

14. These Laws (I say) are thus far remarkable, that it appears in them, that even in those times the *Saxon* Kings, *Ælfred*[1] and *Edward*, understood themselves to be the proper Sovereigns, as well of the Cler-

---

1 As King *Ælfred* by his great Knowledge in the Scriptures was very sensible of the gross Error of the Council of *Nice* in ordering the II Commandment to be left out; so also was he and his Successor *Edw.* sufficiently convinc'd of the Incroachment of the Pope in claiming a Superiority over the Emperor and all other *Christian* Princes, there being no ground for it in Scripture, and the pretended Donation from *Constantine the Great* being a meer Forgery, and never insisted upon till after the Time of *Gregory* VII. This has been evidently prov'd by several eminent Protestant Writers; and Cardinal *Bellarmine* himself, after all his great Learning shewn in behalf of the Pope, has been forc'd in divers Places to acknowledge the Sovereign Power of Kings and Princes over the Bishop of *Rome* as well as other Bishops. As this is built upon the Doctrine deliver'd by our Saviour and his Apostles in the *New Testament*, so is it likewise exactly agreeable to what was practis'd in the *Jewish* Church, where we always find that the Priests and Levites were subject to their Princes, Judges, and Kings. And therefore in the Convocation of the Province of *Canterbury*, first call'd *An.* MDCIL. *primo Jac.* and continued by Adjournments and Prorogations to MDCX, among other Canons this following was agreed upon, [See Bishop *Overall's* Convocation Book *Lond.* MDCXC, lib. I. can. XVIII.] *viz.* IF ANY MAN THEREFORE SHALL AFFIRM, EITHER THAT THE PRIESTS IN THE OLD TESTAMENT WERE NOT AS RIGHTLY AND PROPERLY SUBJECTS TO THE CIVIL GOVERNOURS, AS THE REST OF THE PEOPLE; OR THAT WHEN THEY ANY WAYS OFFENDED, THEY MIGHT NOT BE PUNISHED AS LAWFULLY BY THEM AS ANY OTHERS; HE DOTH GREATLY ERRE.

gy as of the Laity: and that the Church in their Dominions was not a forreign thing, ſubject only to an Univerſal Eccleſiaſtick Sovereign abroad, and exempt from the Juriſdiction of the State at home, (as *Anſelm*, *Beckett*, [and] others afterward contended) but that the Clergy, as they were Part of the King's Subjects, ſo were their Perſons and Fortunes under his only Protection, and anſwerable to the King for the Breach of his Laws. Nor did they account, that to queſtion a Clergy-man, according to the Kings Law, did any whit infringe the Peace of the Church. For in the firſt Article of their Law, they ſolemnly confirm the Peace of the Church, and in the ſubſequent Articles do né'retheleſs ordain, as we have already alledged. And truly though *Edgar*, the Grandchild of *Ælfred*, was a Prince altogether ſwayed by the Clergy of his Time, to the great Advancement of the *Romiſh* Ordinances: yet (as it appeareth by a Speech of his to the Clergy, and which they ſay was made by the Clergy themſelves) he took[1] the animadverſion into the manners of the Eccleſiaſticks to belong unto himſelf, and ſo there telleth them. See the Councels, fol. 477. Afterwards the Clergy (growing more *Romiſh* than native) with a Fallacy wrought upon the Piety of our ſucceeding Monarchs, and ſetting forth under the name of the Church's Honour the Excellencies of the Church of *Chriſt* (rather inviſible than viſible) and the Preheminence of it in Dignity and Merit above the Dominions of this World, they then converted all the Prerogatives and Privileges, which might ſeem rightly belonging to the inviſible Church, (which we know conſiſts as well of Lay as Clergy) unto the Body of the Clergy only: when the Clergy are neither all of them Members of the inviſible Church, neither if they were, were they all the Members: And ſo inſiſting upon a wrong aſſumed Preheminence, they imagined themſelves a Body by themſelves, exempt from the Laws and Juriſdiction of their native Prince and State; an Immunity no whit agreeable to the Condition of thoſe,

1 De quorum omnium moribus ad nos ſpectat examen, &c.

that

that either were to be the Subjects of a well-founded Kingdom, or the Fellow-Members of the Body of the Militant Church. And they further appropriating to themselves, and their Ecclesiastick Head, the whole Honour, Power, and Authority of the Church of God, they at once invaded the Rights both of *Christ's* Kingdom, and of all *Christian* Princes. Now this Usurpation having in this Kingdom been questioned and exploded, the Papals, to defend it by the Antiquity thereof, have very much insisted upon King *Ælfred's* Acknowledgment and Submission to the Ecclesiastick Sovereignty of *Rome*; whenas by these Laws of his it appears, that the *Romish* Supremacy was not in those times extended to the Restraint of the Authority of *Christian* Princes, in such sort as now it is: or if it were, K. *Ælfred* never submitted so far unto it. Therefore whereas *Nicholas Harpesfeild*[1] (out of *Alauredus Rivallensis* rather than *Asser Menevensis* whom he citeth) saith of King *Ælfred*: *Germanam & genuinam esse regis dignitatem, dictitare solebat, si in regno Christi, quæ est Ecclesia, se non Regem sed civem agnosceret; si non supra sacerdotum leges se elate efferret, sed legibus Christi per sacerdotes promulgatis submisso se atque humili animo subderet*: we may see, by the ill coherence of *Ælfred's* words there cited, (in the Sence that the Papals would have them understood) with his Laws here beforementioned, how corruptly the Author of that Passage, and they, that so much insist upon it, do mistake some pious Saying of the King's, when, instead of making known unto us, with what true *Christian* Moderation and Lowliness of Mind the King did execute that high and sacred Function, they have endeavoured to make us believe, that the King disclaimed all Sovereignty over his Ecclesiastick Subjects in the Church, and that he held himself rather a Subject of the Clergys than their Sovereign, to which End they also made a Resemblance of him in this saying of his to *Constantine the Great*; who being displeased, that some of his Bishops (when *Christianity*

[1] In Hist. Angl. Secul. 9. c. 5.

first

first put on the Imperial Crown) did by written Complaints publickly question one another before him, and admonishing the Bishops of the Scandal that such publishing of their Quarrels among Infidels would give unto the Church, and willing them therefore (as St. *Paul* does) to keep the Judgment of their Affairs among themselves, the Papals, with like misinterpretation of the Emperor's words then, do make his Answer (uttered in a pious Zeal and tender care of the Church) to amount to a Disclaimer of Jurisdiction over the Persons of the Clergy, to an Acknowledgment of Authority in them over him, and to a Submission of himself unto it.

15. There is further observable, that from these, and other Constitutions of this King's, many notable Parts of our Law, yet in Practise, derive their first Original. For Example: that Law, which, with so much satisfaction to our selves, we gratulate to our Country, and prefer before the Laws of all our Neighbour-Nations, in Point of Equality of Tryal, (I mean the Law of Tryal by the Verdict of 12 of our Peers or Equals) was here (we see) first instituted, in the Purgation of the King's *Thaines*, by 12 of their Peers, and other *Thaines* by 11 of their Peers, and one of the King's *Thaines*, and again in the Purging of Borsholders by the Oath of 12 Borsholders, as we shall shew anon, all being the first Institution of King *Alfred*.

Original of Tryal by Peers, and by a Jury of 12 Men.

16. From his Institution also is the Original of Putting men to find Sureties of the Good Behaviour, and of Committing them to Prison for want of Sureties.

Original of Sureties for the Good Behaviour.

17. It likewise seemeth that the Authority of the Law of Change of Property upon a Sale in open Market, rose originally from a Law of this King's. When the *Danes* were first subdued and permitted to reside in the Kingdom, it was a common Practise between the two Nations, to steal, not only Horse and Oxen and other Cattle, but also Men and Women, and sell them one to another, and by this means Owners did not only loose their Cattle, but Men were wrongfully made Bond-slaves, and it was a tedious Matter to enquire after him

Orig. of Vouchers upon Sale of Horses, &c.

that

that sold them, and how he came by them; for Remedy of which Disorders the King made a Law, that whosoever sold either Man, Horse, or Oxen, should be sure of one to vouch for his Right in the things he sold, otherwise the Sale was not to bind. Afterward Fairs and Markets, because they were publick, obtained the same Authority that Vouchers had, 'till Fraud came to be practised in them, especially in selling of Horses, which, by reason of their speedy Carriage, were more readily bargained and sold than other things. And then the Statute of 31 *Eliz.* 12. did, as to Horses, revive the Express Law of *Alfred* and tye the Seller to produce a Vouchee.

18. Lastly, The Original of the Law, that Persons Excommunicate should not be permitted to sue or claim Property, is by Mr. *Hollingshed*[1] ascribed unto *Alfred*; and divers other Things there be, in the Forms of the Law, and Government of the Kingdom, (some of which we shall have occasion to touch upon) which had their first Institution from the Ordinance of King *Alfred*. And I know not whether I may well omit, that, in all probable conjecture, the very name of *Common-Law* originally sprung from his Constitutions. For whether it were so called, because it was made a Common-Law to all the Inhabitants of the several Kingdoms of the *Heptarchy*, now expired and grown into one Kingdom; or whether it was so called, because it was made a Common-Law to the two several Nations then residing in the Kingdom, that is to say, the *Saxon* and the *Dane*; *Alfred* (that was the Law-giver) was in both Cases the Author of that Common-Law. And though the *Danes* had Laws that endured to the Confessor's Time, to which the *Saxons* were not subject, and was therefore called *Dane*-Law, yet was that Law of an after Growth, and differing but in some things: for the main they had one Common-Law given to them.

Orig. of disabling of Persons Excommunicate.

Orig. of the Common-Law.

19. But now, though with these, and the like Provisions, the King had well regulated the Disorders of the

[1] *Hollingsh.* Desc. of Brit. fol. 121.

State,

State, and (according to what it was then capable of receiving) furnished the Kingdom with good and proper Laws, yet was all that he had hitherto done far short of effecting that which either he desired or the Times stood much in need of.

20. War had so long reigned in the Land, and in so licentious a manner, as that there was no Part sincere in the Common-wealth. And in the Close of the War, the Disorder was greater than in the Continuance of it; which though it be usual, at the Breaking up of Armies, yet this was beyond all that was usual. The Armies several Nations; and both of them after the Cessation residing in the Land together: the *Danes* destitute of any present Fortunes to betake themselves unto, at their Retireing; and the *Saxons* generally deprived of theirs by the *Danes*: the *Danes* Infidels and Barbarous; and the *Saxons* long inured to the practise of the same Impieties with them: and both of them by their Necessities prest to dare the utmost, whensoe're there was the least offer of any Means of Supply; whether warrantable, or unwarrantable. So that Violence, Robberies, and Murthers did infinitely abound. And though the Laws were stricter than formerly, yet the means of Prosecution and Discovery was not answerable to what the Condition of the times as then required.

Orig. of Shires, Hundreds, and Tythings.

21. In this bad case stood the Land, when the King (desirous to find Remedy for so great an Evil) caused first a Survey to be made of the whole Kingdom; and finding it parted into many small Divisions, (according to the diverse Settlings of the *Saxons* Plantations) he, pretermitting them as being of little use, divided the whole Kingdom into Shires, every Shire [1] he divided into

1 He has forgot to mention the Division of Counties into *Trihings*. For such matters as could not be adjusted in the *Hundred* or *Wapentake* Court were referred to a Superior one consisting generally of three Hundreds, the chief Heads whereof were named Ðrihmgeneras. This Division indeed was almost discontinued upon the *Norman* Conquest; however there are some Remains of it to this day in the *Ridings* of *Yorkshire*, *Lathes* of *Kent*, and the three Parts of *Lincolnshire*, *viz.* *Lindsey*, *Kesteven*, and *Holland*.

Hundreds

Hundreds or Wapentakes, and them again he subdivided into Decennaries or Tythings, that is to say into Societies of ten Men, (were they more or less) who being the Housholders in every Decennary stood mutually Pledges to the King for the good Abbearing and Appearance (if need were) both of themselves and of all the Hand-boroughs of their Decennaries. And there was no man to be accounted a Liege Man, [1] or one that lived legally, but was comprehended within a certain Hundred and a certain Tything or Decennary: otherwise (as it seemeth) he was to be taken for a Forraigner and an Invader, who was either presently to abjure the Kingdom, or else his Life and Fortunes were at the Mercy of every one that would lay hands on him.

22. If any one of any Decennary were suspected and questioned of any Offence, and the Headboroughs or Chief Pledges of the Freebourg, (for so were the Decennaries also called, because they were Suretyships of Freemen mutually tyed one for the other) if they, I say, would not undertake for his Appearance and Acquitall of himself, he was to be imprisoned and to expect his Tryal and the Severity of the Law. If he fled (whether before his Finding of Sureties or after) and were not brought into Answer, both the Hundred and the Tything that he was of incurred a Mulct or Fine unto the King.

23. The manner hereof appears more at large by the Laws of *Edward the Confessor* to have been thus. The Delinquent flying, the Freebourg or Tything had 31 Days given them to find him and bring him forth. If they failed of this, then the Headbourgh or Chiefpledg of that Freebourg, with two more of the Freebourg, produced three Chiefpledges of three of the next Freebourgs, with two more out of each of those Freebourgs (which made 12 in all) to swear with them, that in their Conscience the Freebourg was innocent, both from Privity of the Fault and Flight of the Delinquent. If

1 Legaliter tantum vivens. *Malm.*

the

the Neighbour Freebourgs could not be drawn to thi then the Freebourg, whence the suspected fled, wh by a good round Fine compelled to make Satisfactio to the King according to the Quality of the Fact com mitted, to which Fine the Goods of the Delinquent (i any he had) were in the first place lyable as far as the would go; but they failing, the Residue was to be sup plyed by a general Levy upon all the whole Freebourg who besides were put man by man to purge themselv by their Corporal Oath from being privy either to th Fault or Flight, and to swear that they would brin forth the Delinquent to Judgment whensoever the could find him out.

24. If it happened, that a way-faring Man (Friend or Stranger) lodged in any Man's House, and grew to be suspect of any Offence, if when he was sought for he could not be found, it was enquired how long he had stayed in the House. If it appeared he had not stayed above two Nights, the Householder might by the Oath of himself and two of his Neighbours purge himself from Suspition of Privity with the Delinquent, which if he did he were discharged; but if the Guess had lodged three Nights in the House, the Master was then to have him forthcoming, or to answer for him as for one of his own Family. Whereupon (as appears in those Laws[1]) it was a *Saxon* Proverb tva nagnuc gegnc. ðpiɒ night agen hine. i. e. *two nights a Guest, and the third one's own Servant or one of the Family.*

Question of the first Division.

25. I cannot but take notice, that it is the Opinion of some, that *Ælfred* was not the first that divided the Kingdom into Shires, but that it was done by some other before his time, and I may the less decline the notice because the Reasons are good and probable. There were not only several Parts of the Land called Shires before *Ælfred's* time, but there were divers Shires then, and in the same Parts of the Land, known by the same Names that they are at this day: as *Berrocshire*, (or *Barkshire*) *Wiltunshire*, and others, men-

1 LL. Ed. Conf. cap. 27. de Hospite.

tioned

tioned in *Asser Menevensis*. The Laws of *Ina* (before *Alfred's* time) ordain that an Alderman that suffers an Escape shall forfeit his Shire. And there is in *Asser Men.* further Mention of the Countries or Shires *of Kent, Sussex, Suthry, Thornset,* (or *Dorset*) *Hantune, Somertune, Domnania, Cornubia,* as also of the Earls of many of them; by which it appears that there were Shires or Counties before K. *Alfred's* time. But notwithstanding all these Reasons, I do not conceive it reasonable that we should recede from the current Tradition of Writers, that *Alfred* was the first Author of the Division of the Kingdom into Shires: and that, for the Reasons here following.

26. *First*, the Opinion is not ancient, but new; of a late, and perhaps a subitane Apprehension. *Secondly*, Though it were granted that the Shires, before mentioned, were the same before *Alfred's* time, that they are at this day, yet would it not disprove, but that *Alfred*, as to the main, was the first Divider of the Land into Shires. For the forementioned Counties are only those we see, which, lying on the South side of the *Thames*, were sometime the Kingdom of *West-Saxons*: in which though there were then the same Divisions of Shires that now are, yet makes that nothing to the Division of the Kingdom on the North Side of the *Thames* (which was the greatest Part of the Land) but that *Alfred* did first begin the Division there: and to be sure of it there was no *West-Saxon* King before him that could do it; neither have we mention before *Alfred's* time of any of our Shires on that side. For though we have then Subscriptions of *Egga Comes Lincoln.* and *Leucitus Comes Leceftriæ*, yet those do denotate no more than Prefect or Alderman of the Town of *Lincoln*, and of the Town of *Leycester*. There wants the addition of *Pagæ Lincoln. &c.* to shew they were Earls of Counties or Shires. Yet I deny not, that there were Earls on the Northside Parts, as *Ethered Mucbil*, or great Earl of the *Gaynes* in *Lincolnshire*, but no Earls of any Shires then that are to this day in Being. *Thirdly*, though,

Though, as to the name, we have divers Shires now, which are found to have been in being before *Alfred's* time, yet does it not follow that they held then the same Bounds of Diviſion that they do now, but that *Alfred*, after his univerſal Invitation of Strangers for Repeopling of the Land, his Building of Cities and Villages, and Diviſion of the Countries into Hundreds and Tythings, though he continued the Names of ſome of the Countries as they were before, yet he tyed not himſelf to their former Bounds, but ſettled them as fell out moſt convenient for their Diſtribution into Tythings and Hundreds. *Fourthly*, Whereſoever there were Earls before *Alfred's* time, they were not ſo properly Earls of Counties or Shires, of any Regulate Juriſdiction, as rather Martial Leaders and Commanders of the People of thoſe Countries, and were ſtyled as well from the People as from the Country, *Comes Hantunenſium, Comes Merciorum, Comes Gainorum, Dux Dorſetum, &c.* and theſe as their Authority grew from the Sword, ſo they uſing it with much Liberty, while they themſelves followed the Occaſions of the War, they let [1] their Deputies (if they that were then the Prefects of the Countries were Deputies to the Earls) adminiſter the Government of the Countries rather as Rights of Lordſhip, than Offices of Charge and Duty, and by their Irregularities gave occaſion to *Alfred*, to think of Reducing the Government to ſome better Form: which to effect he was fain wholly to take away that Kind of Officer, which the Earls had then as their Deputies, and were from their Lordlike Carriages called *Vice-Domini* or *Vidomes*: and having erected a County or Shire in the Place (ſubdivided into Hundreds and Tythings) he then ſubſtituted unto the Earl there, that Officer, which, properly relating to the Shire, was called *Shire-Reeve* or *Vice-Comes*, and circumſcribed his Authority with Certainty of Limit and Juriſdiction: from whence there growing the firſt conjugate Relation of thoſe three Terms *Comes*, *Vice comes*, and *Comitatus*, the Shires that were before were not Shires in that true

1 Vide *Ingulf.* p. 870.

Propriety

Propriety of Condition that we require in a Shire at this Day; but the first Division of the Kingdom into such Shires, was truly the Institution of K. *Ælfred*. *Fifthly*, and *Lastly*, whereas (*Hen. Huntington* and *G. Malmsbury* referring the first Division of Counties unto the Union of the *Heptarchy* under the *West-Saxon* Kings:) it is affirmed that that Union was 70 years before *Ælfred*'s time; it will (under favour) manifestly appear, that the Union [1] fell out so just in *Ælfred*'s Reign, as that those Authorities must inevitably fix the Act of Division upon K. *Ælfred*. For (as we have shewn already) *Ælla* and *Osbert*, the two jarring Kings that were the last of the *Northumbrian* Kingdom, were slain but three or four years before the Death of *Æthelred*, *Ælfred*'s immediate Predecessor. St. *Edmund*, the most pious and last King of the *East-Angles*, was slain but in the Year 871, which was the last of *Æthelred* and first year of *Ælfred*'s Reign. And *Burhed*, the last King of the *Mercians*, or *Middle-Saxons*, was not expulsed by the *Danes* 'till about the third year of K. *Ælfred*; so as 'till then there was no Union of the *Heptarch*. Kingdoms: And then not only *Ingulfus*, but *Huntington* and *G. Malmesbury* are express Authorities in the very Point, and those credited and followed by all that have since written upon that Point.

27. When the King had distributed the Subject into distinct Shires, Hundreds and Tythings, and thereby obtained a ready means of discovering Delinquents; he took away, as we have said, the Use of *Vidomes* from the Earls, because that Officer had not only the Charge of all things, privately and ministerially belonging to the Earl, but had also (as it seemeth) the sole Administration of Justice under him, and instead of the *Vidome* he in the Affairs of the County substituted the Sheriff or Reeve of the Shire, who from that Institution has ever since continued first as a Deputy to the Earl, and Orig. of Under-Sheriffs.

1 *Egbert* was the first Monarch, tho' he did not exercise so Absolute Power as King *Ælfred*.

ſince as an immediate Officer of the Crown. And beſides the Sheriff, he, for the better Adminiſtration of Juſtice, ordained in every Shire peculiar Juſtices, by what Names and with what Juriſdiction we cannot expreſsly ſay; but we may gueſs they were the ſame which were called *the King's Aldermen*, and [1] *Aldermen of the Shires*, who were the ſupream Judges in the Scire-gemot or County-Court, and held Conuſance of the Greater Matters not determinable in the Hundred Courts: breaking thereby the Prefecture of the *Vidome* into the Offices of a Judge or Juſtitiar, and a Sheriff; the firſt of which ſeems to have had a meer juridical Function, the other either a Miniſterial only or a Mixed,

Orig. of Writs.

28. When ſo he had reduced the Quality of the Officer to a Condition more agreeable to the due Execution of Juſtice; he ſettled alſo (as it ſeemeth) the Means of Suit and ready Proſecution of Right: ordaining, that, for the better Eaſe of the Subject [2], Original Writs [3] ſhould, without any ſpecial Petition to the King, be of courſe granted by the Officer, as things of Duty and not of Grace.

29. So ſtrange and ſudden a Change did theſe Inſtitutions produce in the Kingdom, that whereas before there was no Travelling without a ſafe Convoy of Arms; preſently there was not only ſafe Paſſage, but all Places became ſo ſecure, that, when the King, for Experience ſake, cauſed Golden Bracelets to be hung up in the Croſs ways, they ſeemed to deride the Paſſenger, for that no man durſt lay his hands on them. Virgins

1 The *Aldermen of the Shires* were generally accounted the *Comites* or *Earls* themſelves. But they whom our Author means were thoſe who are ſtiled in the *Saxon* Laws *Wites* or *Wiſemen*. See Mr. *Seldon's Titles of Honour*, *Spelman's Gloſſ.* voc. *Aldermannus*, Dr. *Brady's Gloſſary* at the End of his *Introduction to the old Engliſh Hiſtory*, p. 66. Mr. *Tyrrell's Gen. Hiſt. of Eng.* Vol. I. in *Introd.*

2 *Mirror aux Juſtices*, cited by Sir *Ed. Coke* in his Preface to the ninth Report.

3 In the firſt Chapter of the Laws of K. *Edward the Elder* there is mention made of Dome-boc or *the Judicial Book*, wherein 'tis very likely that, beſides the Survey he made, the Forms of ſuch Writs were contained.

might

[1] might ſafely travel any where alone. Nay (ſaith *Ingulfus* [2]) if one left his Money all night in the Highways, he might come the next Morning and be ſure to find it all, whole and untouched. A marvellous Effect of a notable Ordinance, and ſuch as perhaps one would hardly believe either ſo ſuddenly to have enſued, or ſo far to have prevailed. But who can imagine that ſo exact a Diſtribution of People, under ſo ſevere a Rule, and ſo ſtrict a Subordination of Government, ſhould produce leſs than an extraordinary Effect?

30. This great work of the King's gave Original to two very remarkable things in this Land. The one is that famous Survey of the Kingdom made by *William the Conqueror*, now called *Domeſday*-Book, the Circumſtance whereof was this. When *Ælfred* had made the Survey that we ſpake of, he cauſed it to be ingroſſed and kept at *Wincheſter*, where his Court was, and from thence it firſt had the Name of the Roll or Book of *Wincheſter*; and being extant at the Conqueror's Coming, it not only gave him occaſion of doing the like, but gave him ſuch furtherance in it, as that the Survey, which the Conqueror made, was but like the ſecond Edition of the ſame Work, *auctior & locupletior*, but otherwiſe all one with that of *Ælfred's*; in [3] which regard it was alſo by the ſame name called *Wincheſter*-Book. Afterwards either by Corruption from Dome-Book (by which name the *Saxons* called all Books of Laws, and Conſtitutions) or by Affectation for the Authenticalneſs and Univerſality of it, it obtained the name which to this day it holds of [4] *Domeſday*-Book. Orig. of *Domeſday*-Book.

31 The

1 *Spond.* 2 *Ingulf.* 3 *Ingulf.*

4 'Tis the Opinion of the Author of the *Black-Book of the Exchequer*, (who is commonly ſaid to be *Gervaſius Tilburienſis*, who flouriſh'd in the Reign of *Hen.* II.) Sir *Hen. Spelman*, Mr. *Lambard*, Mr. *Somner*, and ſeveral good Antiquaries, that 'twas call'd *Domeſday-Book*, becauſe 'tis no more lawfull to depart, or appeal from what is in it, than from the *Day of Doom*, or *laſt Judgment*. Yet others will have it call'd *Domeſday-Book*, *quaſi Liber Domus Dei*; as if it had been originally depoſited in the *Houſe of God*. But Dr. *Kennet* runs counter to theſe opinions, and calls them *TRIFLING DERIVATIONS*,

Orig. of Hundred-Courts, County-Courts and Leets.

31. The other is the Inſtitution of Hundred-Courts, County-Courts, and of thoſe inferiour Courts of Juſtice in every Town, which at this day are called by the name of Leets, of which we have now not only loſt the right Uſe and Practiſe, but even the true Knowledge of them and of their Rights.

32. View of *Frank-Pledge* (which we at this Day call the Leet) is a Liberty properly belonging to none but the Crown. The Subject can neither by Preſcription, nor Patent, have greater Intereſt in them, than only a Liberty (in certain Places) to take, in the King's behalf, the View of the *Frank-Pledges* by a Steward of his own Appointment, and by him to take Preſentment of Matters within the Juriſdiction of the Court, and to have the Fines and Amerciaments that fall within the ſame to his own Uſe. But the Court ſtill remains the King's.

33. For the Inſtitution of *Frank-Pledges* anciently (as we may ſee in *Edward the Confeſſor's* Laws confirmed by the Conqueror) was accounted [1] the great Security and Eſtabliſhment of the Kingdom, and was the whole and ſole Adminiſtration of Juſtice criminal in inferior Matters (as Force, Treſpaſs, and Misbehaviour) that was in the Kingdom: and the proper Judge thereof was the Sheriff or Juſtice in the Hundred-Court. But when the Lords of Mannors, for the Eaſe of their Tenants, and for the better Countenance and Backing of their Mannor-Courts, purchaſed the Liberties of the Hundred-Courts within Precinct of their Mannors, while they advanced thereby the Repute of their own, they impaired the Authority of the other. And at laſt, when Mannors, through Alienations, Forfeitures, Partitions, Manumiſſions, Special Cuſtoms, and the like,

---

VATIONS, telling us from Dr. *Hammond* that the Addition of *Dey* or *Day* does not augment the Senſe of the Word, but only doubles and confirms it; and that therefore *Doomſday-book* is no more than the Book of Judicial Verdict, or decretory Sentence, or dooming of Judgment: which agrees with our Author's firſt Derivation. See the *Gloſſary* to his *Parochial Antiquities*.

1 Eſt quædam ſumma & maxima ſecuritas, &c. tit. Friborg. Leph.

became

became every where mangled and dismembred, many half extinguished, and some of them altogether, there growing generally then a great Defect in the serving also of the Leets, much of their Jurisdiction came by little and little to be transferred to Courts of a superiour Nature since them erected, and to the Determination of the King's Justices, at the Assizes, and at the Sessions, so as the Leets now bear little more than a Shadow of their first Institution.

34. It is not then to be expected that we should describe them according to the first Original of their Use, neither (if we could) would our present Purpose suffer it. But that we may the better conceive of their Excellence, we may observe, that had they been continued in Practice according to their Ancient Use, they been in many things even unto this day would not have unprofitable to the Common-wealth; and, for Instance, the continual Trouble and Contention, that is daily raised between Town and Town, about the Settling of People chargeable, or feared to be chargeable, the universal Complaint of the Licentiousness and Unruliness of Servants, who (for the Liberty, which they now have, of changing at their pleasure) will stay in no Place, not serve, but upon such Conditions both for Work and Wages as is grievous to Masters, and gives Trouble to all the Justices in the Kingdom to regulate; the Pester and Annoyance of the Kingdom with such a Surcharge of vagrant and disorderly Persons, that more and more now adays abound, and many other such like Inconveniencies had all been avoided, or in a great part remedied by the Observance of the Law of *Frank Pledge*. For when one could not leave the Freebourg of which he was, without the Allowance and Testimonial of the Borsholder, nor enter any new Freebourg, that would not warily examine the Condition of their new-come Decennar, whom they were to receive, and might perhaps be put to answer for all Evils that consequently follow the Liberty and Facility of shifting up and down, must needs be undoubtedly prevented: besides

The benefit of Decennaries and Leets.

that the continual Suſpect and Eye that was upon ſuch People, and the ready Proſecution even at home of the leaſt Offences, that could be committed againſt Neighbourhood and good Manners, (which was ſtrictly then exerciſed in thoſe Courts) did prevent the very Diſpoſition of ill minded Men from the Attempt of diſſolute Courſes.

Fit for Plantations.

35. But as many things have concurred to the Remiſsneſs and Decay of this ſtrict Inſtitution, ſo is it not to be denyed, but that, among other Cauſes, the numerous Increaſe of the Common-wealth muſt be aſſigned for a principal one; for that it is very difficult to hold a full grown populous State to ſo ſtrict a Diſtribution, and to enjoin the due Obſervance of the Law of *Frank-Pledge*. But to a beginning Common-wealth, it is both more eaſy and of more Importance. And therefore to a new Plantation there cannot poſſibly be a more profitable Ordinance for the Government thereof, than ſuch as after the Reaſon of the Law of *Frank-Pledge* may fitly be compoſed. But to return.

Proviſion for able Officers.

36. When the King had applyed theſe Remedies unto the preſent Wants, then had he to encounter with a Difficult, that for the preſent was beyond them all. For though he had made Laws, and ſet on foot a Courſe that might conſtrain Obedience, yet wanted he fit Men to be the Miniſters of Juſtice, and to hear and determine according to the Dictate of his Laws; and this was a Difficult not readily helped, (for that he could not ſuddenly make the Men he had fit, or provide himſelf of better otherwhere:) and it was the greater, for that when the Defect of able Men was ſo notorious, Juſtice was inſtituted in ſuch a Form, as that it muſt be adminiſtred in the Counties, Hundreds, and Freebourgs, by the Earls, Aldermen, Sheriffs, and Borſholders, in the Counties and Freebourgs ſeverally reſiding. And though a reaſonable Information might ſerve a Borſholder, yet neither they, the Sheriffs, the Juſtices, nor the Earls, were then of Erudition anſwerable to their Charges. For whereas formerly (and afterward again for divers Ages) the Know-

ledge

ledge of the Laws was the proper Study of the Earls and Nobles, they the chief Oracles of Law, and perſonally in the ſeveral Counties the Higheſt Judges thereof; the barbarous War had then ſo changed the Courſe of all things, that now they had given over the Care of the Laws (as of things without a Bayte) and ſought by Might only to defend themſelves and theirs from Violence: ſo as they, on the one ſide, from their Infancy illiterate and ignorant, and the People, on the other ſide, rude and ill perſwaded of their Judgments, would ſeldom reſt ſatisfied with any Sentence of theirs, (were it juſt or unjuſt) untill by the King's own Hearing it were by him confirmed; ſo as the greateſt part of the Juſtice of the Kingdom came, as it were, by Appeal to be adminiſtred by the King himſelf.

37. How unreaſonable a Burthen this was, is to all Men's diſcerning ſufficiently apparent. But the King, whoſe infinite Zeal and Minding of the People's Need, made him eaſily paſs over his own Cumber, judging his Help the more neceſſary the more it was called upon, with incredible Pains and Patience, daily heard again the Judgments whereof there was Complaint made unto him, and when with doing Right he had given Satisfaction to the Parties, then, as occaſion ſerved, he ſo dealt with the Earls or Juſtices about their miſgiven Sentence, as that he provided for Redreſs, not only where he found Corruption, but alſo where there was Miſtaking through Ignorance and Want of Knowledge of the Laws. For though their Ignorance were excuſable, yet the King preſſed hard that they ought not to have accepted of the Earldom or Prefecture, to which Judicature was incident, without Care of Applying themſelves to learn the Duty, and enjoined them either to give ſuch Diligence to Learning, as might render them capable of the Place, or to forgo the Dignity to the Function of which they were altogether unfitting. As for the Places that were void, he refuſed abſolutely to confer them upon any, unleſs they were in a reaſonable manner qualified for them, and gave good hope of their future

future Improvement. It was a hard Task was then imposed upon Officers; but of such Authority was the King's Command, and such the Consequence of it, that the Earls, and Justices, and Officers, in every Shire, rather than they would hazard the being put from their Places, betook them diligently to the Study of the Laws, the King permitting to some of the aged Earls only, to use the Assistance of some Kinsman or Officer, whom they for that purpose maintained to apply themselves to the Knowledge of the Law. And soon there ensued such a wonderfull Change in the Commonwealth, as if one should imagine it from a Camp to have become an Inns-of-Court, whereby the Administration of Justice became more speedily amended than one could think possible in so short a time to be effected.

Inward Means of Reclaiming the People sought.

38. Yet all this Providence and Care, which the King thus had of the Government of the People, and which he pursued with so much of his own Personal Travell, was not enough to quiet his ever-working Spirit, nor to satisfy him that he had done enough, for the perfect Restoring of his People's Manners. But considering with himself, how weak the Reformation was, that depended only upon outward Terrour and Constraint; he applyed all his Thoughts to find some means, whereby he might inwardly reclaim their depraved Minds, and take them off from the greedy Pursuit of their vile Affections. And whereas this was not otherwise to be effected, than by Instruction, and by Infusion of Precepts, both Divine and Moral, that so they might become Law-givers unto themselves, and out of Conscience abstain from the things that were evil; there wanted those that should be the Instruments of such a Work, Preachers and Teachers of the Word of God, who with continual Pains in Instructing, Exhorting, and Admonishing of them, might in time beget a Reformation.

39. Howsoever it was, the King having apprehended the Necessity of such a Work, no Difficult whatsoever, nor Want of Means, could so discourage him, but that the Desire and Hope of doing an happy Office unto his

People

People did much more set him forward in the Endeavour. At last he fell upon the way whereby it pleased God, in the old World, to infuse into Barbarous People better thoughts, namely of Religion, of Justice, of Civility, and of Honour, not by Writings, (for the Barbarians could not read) neither yet so much by Preaching, (for they were giddy and perverse in Hearing) but divine Wits, inspired with more than Human Faculties, did in Parables, in Fables, in Songs, in Proverbs, and the like, (which they fitted to the Humour and Pleasure of the People) so lively expose either the Deformity of the present reigning Vice, or the Beauty and Loveliness of the contrary Virtue, as that while the savage Hearers (taken with Delight of the witty Expressions) did retain and communicate them to one another, they by little and little consented to the Truth that was contained in them; and in the end became no less captivate of the reason which they so propounded, than delighted with the Wittiness of their Delivery.

40. Hence was it, that among the ancient Heathenish Founders of Common-wealths, such as *Jupiter*, *Bacchus*, *Hercules*, *Orpheus*, *Amphion*, *Arion*, and others, while some have been infamous for making of Rigorous Laws, and have been feigned therefore to have become Judges in Hell, yet nothing worthy of Note recorded of any Reformation wrought by them, these have for the most part been ever famous, and happy in the Success of Milder Courses, and in the Change, that through their wisdom they have wrought in the manners of their People, for which they have been feigned, some to draw whole Multitudes by Chains fastened from their Tongues unto the People's Ears; others with their Musick to draw savage Beasts after them, or so to charm wild Woods and Rocks, that even the senseless Trees and Stones were made to follow them. The [1] Poët sets it very well forth:

Silvestres homines sacer interpresque Deorum
Cædibus & victu fœdo deterruit Orpheus;

[1] *Horat.* art. Poët. *Dictus*

Dictus ob hoc lenire tygres rabidosque leones:
Dictus & Amphion, Thebanæ *conditor arcis,*
Saxa movere sono testudinis, & prece blanda
Ducere quo vellet.

And another [1] Poët to the same purpose:

Quod mare non novit, quæ nescit Ariona *tellus?*
Carmine currentes ille tenebat aquas.
Sæpe sequens agnum &c.

41. Through such means did the Founders of Common-wealths in old time reclaim their loose and wild Savages, and make them subject to the Laws of Civil Government: amongst whom when (for the most part) all Erudition was traditional and not communicated but by Word of Mouth, (as in the *Britains* time it was here wont to be by the *Druids*) they, for the easier communicating of it, delivered it in Ryme or Verse. And from thence Poëtry (which in our later Ages for the too frequent Levity thereof hath scarcely had a reasonable Esteem) was anciently in great Veneration. And the Poët performing the Office and Part of a Preacher, or Prophet, had also the Sacred Esteem of a Prophet [2].

Sic honor & nomen divinis vatibus, atque
Carminibus venit. ———

42. And though this way of Instruction seem rather proper for times of Barbarism, yet hath it not been unuseful in the times of greatest Light. Yea in the Church of God we may see, that after the Decalogue written, the Law pronounced, *Moses* his Testamentary Exhortations, the oft appearing of the Visible Majesty of God, and an Eternal Impression thereby (as one would think) of his Fear, God, willing to add something of peculiar Efficacy for restraining, commanded [3] *Moses* to frame the Contents of what he would have delivered to his People into the Form of a Song: that it being easily learnt and communicated, it might universally be received; and Men, bearing in their Mouths the Sen-

1 *Ovid.* 2 *Ibid.* 3 *Deut.* XXXI. 19.

tence

tence due unto their own Tranſgreſſion, might neither want a Bridle in their Sins, nor a Domeſtick Incitement to obſervance of their Duty.

43. As for Parables and Fables we may likewiſe ſee how proper and effectual they are to the Introducing of a Change in Manners, or Religion: when by them eſpecially our Saviour exploded the inveterate Corruptions, wherewith the *Phariſees* had for a long Time together falſified the Doctrine, and perverted the Manners of the Church of God. And *Solomon*, though (being the wiſeſt Man that ever was, and of moſt univerſal natural Parts) he could have done as much as any Man in the way of Oratory whether by Writing or Perſonal Delivery; yet, when returning to himſelf he was deſirous to make his ill-got Experience moſt generally profitable unto all Men, he left not his Speculations digeſted into a Methodical Treatiſe, but into Compendious Sentences, and Parables, eaſy to every Capacity and portable to every Tongue. Nor did he look only to the Matter, but to the Manner of the Delivery, and as he ſearched out and prepared many Parables, ſo alſo he ſought to find out pleaſant Words: to ſubdue men (as it were) by their own Affections to ſuch Obedience, as without ſome Intereſt firſt gained by ſomething that pleaſed them, and then a Conviction by Reaſon admitted upon that Intereſt, they would never have yielded themſelves unto.

44. Certainly, Familiar Tales, Fables, Proverbs, Parables, Rithmes, and the like, compoſed with Judgment and with Life, have in themſelves more Efficacy than a naked Precept, and (which is more) they find acceptance, when a bare Precept is rejected. For though Reaſon cannot but prevail when it is heard, yet Senſuality at every hand ſo powerfully preoccupates the Way, that Reaſon comes not always to have due Audience. For men naturally abhor the Bridle and the Precept that is offered to no other End than to reſtrain; but when the force of the Precept (infuſed in the Diſguiſe of ſome other thing) goes the way of

mit Affections, it is then fully received, and afterward we easily yield unto the Rule whose Truth we have once with full Consent acknowledged. And as Fables and Parables are powerfull and winning towards the particular Hearer, so (being most speedy Means to dispense and publish any thing that one desires to possess a Multitude withall) they are effectual Means to a general Reformation as well as to a particular.

45. Now as *Alfred* in many Passages of his Life appears to have much contemplated the Life and Actions of *Salomon*; so finding that after his Conversion he of a King became a zealous Teacher and Instructer of the People, and that (as he said himself) *the wiser he was the more he taught them and searched out Parables, and pleasant Words*, *Alfred*, in all likelyhood, in this point propounded to himself the Example of *Salomon*; and having a natural Delight in wise and witty Sayings, so that from his Youth he was ever a diligent Collector of them, he now pursues his natural Inclination, and with a studious Endeavour labours to store himself with all such Passages of Instruction as tended to the Reformation of Manners, especially such as were extant in Verse in the *Saxon* Tongue, in respect whereof there is a note upon him that he was *Saxonicorum poëmatum peritissimus.*

To which the K. applies his own Endeavours.

46. As he collected what others had written, so he composed much himself, and obtained the Name of an Excellent Poët, for his admired Natural Parts, joyned with so pious an Use, and so happy Effects of them. Whereby indeed he became a Poët of the Rank of those that in ancient time have been so honourable, and who were as well the Heroes of their times, as the Poëts. As for his Abilities that way, though the Event of his Labours hath made a sufficient Demonstration of them, because it must needs be a powerfull Faculty that works a Change in the Manners of Men contrary to their own Affections; whereas to have done but indifferently well in Poëtry had been as good as to have done nothing:

— *mediocribus*

mediocribus esse poëtis
Non Dii, non homines, non concessere columnæ.

And again,

Non satis est pulcra esse poëmata; dulcia sunto,
Et quacunque volunt animum auditoris agunto.

Yea the Monk of *Malmsbury* has expressly testified of him, that no Man was more sharp and quick of Apprehension than King *Alfred*, nor more elegant in the Delivery of what he had conceived. And *Ethelwerd* avoucheth that his Translation of *Boëtius* was such as that it would passionately and even to Tears affect the Hearers of it.

47. The King thus endowed by Nature, and furnished by his own Industry ceased not to hunt out and pursue all Occasions of Instructing his People, descending often from the Awe and Terrour of a Sovereign to give the Hearer more freedom in the way of Learning, with great Judgment intermixing Mildness and Reproof, Pleasantness and Seriousness, untill he either won or compelled all Sorts of People, young and old, ignoble and noble, yea his Bishops, Earls, and Prefects of Counties to receive the Impressions of his Teaching, and in a short time brought it to pass that Learning and Civility, which formerly had been in Contempt, became the only Thing in request and generally desired of every Man.

48. There is in that well known Library, now Sir *Thomas Cotton's*, a Manuscript Collection of diverse Precepts and Instructions of King *Alfred's*, tending to the Purpose we now speak of; and by the Courtesy of Sr. *Thomas* I am provided of a Copy of them. But as they are I cannot think it fit to offer them unto the World, as an Instance of what the King composed. For they are not his very Work in the *Saxon* Tongue, but a Miscellany Collection of some later Author, who, according to his own Faculty, hath in a broken *English* put together such of the sayings of King *Alfred*, as he met withal, some of them Rimeing, and others (as

perhaps

perhaps the Original was) in Profe: and beſides that in their Order they ſomewhat argue the Collector's want of Judgment. For marſhalling them no better, the copy is ſo faulty and ill writ, in a mungrel Hand, (as well as Language) as that unleſs I ſhould, without Regard, venture to treſpaſs againſt the Truth, I dare not publiſh it according to the Copy I have taken. Therefore whereas there are 31 Heads of the Sayings of the King, all beginning with theſe words, **Thus quoth Alfred**, I take them not all, onely the Beginning of them, and three or four of the firſt only (which are the perfecteſt) I have (to ſhew the Style and Manner of them) ſet down, in the words that I have copied them, together with the current Senſe they have in Speech at this Day. For the Reſidue I have taken ſuch as I preſume I read right and underſtand, and I have only ſet them down in *Engliſh*, noting them with Figures, according to the number or place they hold among the reſt.

40. The Beginning of them is very much to be conſidered; for that it importeth as if there were ſome Aſſembly of the Chief of both Orders of the Kingdom called together at [1] *Sifford* (or *Seafford*) in *Oxfordſhire*, and as if the King had there conſulted with his Clergy, Nobles, and Others, about the Manners and Government of the People, and had there delivered ſome grave Admonitions and Inſtructions concerning the ſame, to be (as one would think) divulged throughout the Kingdom. For it firſt mentioning the Aſſembly and commending the King, it ſaith that he began to teach thoſe that could hear him how they ſhould lead their Lives, and then ſetteth down thoſe 31 Heads as Particulars of his Teaching; confirming thereby that which we have already (from other Authorities) alledged, concerning his Care and Travel for the Inſtruction and

1 Commonly call'd *Shifford*, being ſituated in the Pariſh of *Aſtrop*, ſix miles weſt from *Oxford*. A ſmall Village at preſent, but formerly a conſiderable Town, as appears from divers Ruins. See Dr. *Plot's Nat. Hiſt. of Oxfordſhire*, Ch. II. § 5.

Reformation

Reformation of his People. The words of the Manuscript[1] are these:

At Sifford seten[2] Thaines manie,
Fele Biscopes,[3] and[4] fele boclered,
Erles prude,[4] Knihtes egloche.
Ther was Erle Alfrich, of the Lage swuth wise,
[5] And ec Alfred, Engle-hirde, Engle derling.
On[6] Englond he was King. hem he gan[7] leren
Swo[8] him heren mihten, hu hi here lif leden scolden.

Alfred he was on Engelond a King wel swithe strong.
He was King and Clerk. wel he[9] luuied Gods werk.
He was wise on his word, and war on his Speche.
He was the wiseste man that was on[10] Engelond.

I. Thus qwath[11] Aluerd engle frofre.
Wolde[12] ye nu liben and lusten yure louerd,
And he[13] yu wolde wisen wiseliche[14] winges,
Hu ye mihten werlds[15] wurthecipe welden,
And ec yure soule samne to Criste.
Wise weren the cwethen the saide the King Alfred.

Mildeliche I mune yu mine dere frend, arme
And edilede luuiende, that ye all drede yure
Drihten Crist, luuiend him and licen. for he is

---

1 I have seen an extract of some of these Precepts made by Mr. *Rich. James* from a MS. in the Hands of Mr. *Tho. Allen.* 'Tis in the sixth Vol. of the said Mr. *James's* Coll. in Bibl. Bodl. pag. 68. and from that I shall put down the Variations from Sir *John Spelman's* Transcript. Which MS. however seems to have been the same with this used by Sir *John. Spelman.* See Mr. *James's* Coll. Vol. 18. p. 28. and Mr. *Selden's* Preface to the *X Scriptores*, pag. 4.

2 þeiner manie *Jam.* and in Mr. *Wanley's* Edit. of the beginning of this MS. p. 231. of his Cat. of the *Saxon*, and other Septentrional, MSS. 3 Deest *Jam.* & *Wanl.* 4 ⁊ cnihter egleche *Jam.* but the ⁊ is omitted in Mr. *Wanl.* 5 *And* deest in Edit. *Wanl.* 6 Engelonde *Wanl.* 7 lapen *Wanl.* 8 hi *Jam.* & *Wanl.* 9 luvede *Jam.* & *Wanl.* 10 On *additur in Ed. Wanl.* 11 Aluned *Jam.* & *Wanl.* & sic deinceps. 12 ge nu liþen ⁊ lusten gune *Jam.* & *Wanl.* 13 gu *Jam.* & *Wanl.* 14 þinger *Wanl.* recte. His Edition reaches no further. 15 þurðscipe *Jam.*

Louerd

Louerd of Lif. he is one God ouer all Godnesse.
He is one blisse ouer alle blessedness.
He is one manne, milde maister. he one folce fader,
And frofre. he is one riht wis and riche King,
That him ne scal be pane noht of his will
Hwo him here on werlde wurthend and eth.

II. Thus cwath Aluerd engle frofre.
He mai no riht cing ben under Crist self,
But he be bocleredd, and wis o [1] loage,
[2] And " he hise [3] writes wel icweme, and he cunne
Lettes locen him selue hu he scal his lond
Lagelice helden.

III. Thus cwath Aluerd, engle frofre. The Erl
And te atheling tho ben under the cing,
The lond to leden mid lagelic deden.
Bothe the clerc and te cnith demen euenliche riht;
For after that te man soweth
Ther after he scal mowen;
And efrilces mannes Dom to his ogen dure charigeth.

IV. Thus cwath Aluerd. the cniht behoveth
Ceneliche to [4] mowen or to werce the lond
Hunger, and of heregong, that the Chureche haue
Grith, and te cherl be in frith,
His sedes to sowen, hise medes to mowen,
His Plowes to driven to ure alre bilif.
This is the cnihtes lage to locen that it wel fare. &c.

Thus is the Original, but according to our more current *English* thus:

There sate at Sifford *many Thaines,*
Many Bishops, many learned men,
Wise Earles, and awfull Knights.
There was Earl Alfrich *very learned in the Law:*

---

1 loane *Jam.* 2 Deest *Jam.* 3 pitter *Jam.* 4 cnopen uon to penie be lond of hunger *Jam.*

There

There was present also Alfred, England's *Heardman*,
England's *Darling*.
He was King of England: *he taught them*
That could hear him, how they should lead their lives.
Alfred *was a King of* England, *that was very strong.*
He was both a King and a Scholar: he loved well God's work.
He was wise, and advised of his talk.
He was the wisest Man that was in all England.

I. *Thus quoth* Alfred, England's *Comfort*:
O that you would now love and long after your Lord,
He would govern you wisely,
That you might have Honour in this world,
And yet unite your Souls to Christ.
Wise were the Sayings of King Alfred.

I mildely admonish thee my dear friend, and beloved,
Beest thou poor or rich, that thou wholly dread
Thy Lord Christ, *love him and delight in him: for he is*
Lord of Life: he is one God above all Goodness:
He is a Bliss above all Blessedness:
He is one Man, a Mild Master: he one common Father,
And Comfort of all People: he one so wise and rich a King,
That he that in this World shall serve him,
Shall not fail ought of his Will.

II. *Thus quoth* Alfred, England's *Comfort*:
One can be no right ruling King under Christ *himself,*
Unless he have Learning, know the Law,
And understand the use of his writts,
And be able by his own Reading to inform himself how
According to Law. *to govern his Land*

III. *Thus quoth* Alfred, England's *Comfort*: *The Earl*
And the Atheling are under the King,
To govern the Land according to Law. *rightly*:
The Clergyman and the Knight must both alike judg up-
For as a man sows,
So shall he reap; *own doors.*
And every Man's Judgment comes upon him home to his

IV. *Thus quoth* Alfred: *It behoveth the Knight Advisedly to look to provide Against Death and Famine, and to have care of the Military Expedition, that the Church have Quiet, and the Husbandman be in peace, His seed to sow, his Meadows to mow, And to follow his ploughing to the behoof of us all. This is the Duty of the Knight to see that these things go as they should.*

V. *Thus quoth* Alfred: *without Wisdom Wealth is worth little. Though a man had an hundred and seventy Acres sown with Gold, and all grew like Corn, yet were all that Wealth worth nothing, unless that of an Enemy one could make it become his Friend. For what differs Gold from a Stone, but by discreet using of it?*

VI. *Thus quoth* Alured: *A young man must never give himself to Evil, though good befals him not to his mind, nor though he enjoys not every thing he would: for* Christ *can when he will give good after Evil and Wealth after Grace. Happy is he that is made for it.*

XIII. *Thus quoth* Alfred: *A wise Child is the Blessing of his Father. If thou hast a Child, while it is yet but little, teach it the Precepts that belong to a Man, and when it is grown up it will follow them; then shall thy Child become such as shall recompense thee: but if thou letteſt him go after his own Will, when he cometh to age it will grieve him sore, and he shall curse him that had the tuition of him: then shall thy Child transgress thy Admonition, and it would be better for thee that thou hadst no Child; for a Child unborn is better than one unbeaten.*

XXVII. *Thus quoth* Alfred: *If thou growest into Age, hast Wealth, and canst take no Pleasure, nor hast Strength to govern thy self, then thank thy Lord for all that he hath sent thee, for thy own Life, and for the Day's Light, and for all the Pleasure he hath made for Man; and whatsoever becometh of thee, say thou, come what come will, God's will be welcom.*

XXVIII.

XXVIII. *Thus quoth* Alfred: *worldly Wealth at last cometh to the Worms, and all the Glory of it to Dust, and our Life is soon gone. And though one had the Rule of all this middle world, and of the Wealth in it; yet could he keep his Life but a short while. All thy Happiness would but work thy misery, unless thou couldst purchase thee* Christ. *Therefore when we lead our Lives as God hath taught us, we then best serve our selves. For then be assured that he will support us: for so said* Salomon, *that wise Man; well is he that doth good in this world, for at last he cometh where he findeth it.*

XXIX. *Thus quoth* Alfred: *My dear Son, set thee now beside me, and I will deliver thee true Instructions. My Son I feel that my Hour is coming. My Countenance is wan. My - - - - - - - - My Days are almost done. We must now part. I shall to another World, and thou shalt be left alone in all my Wealth. I pray thee (for thou art my Dear Child) strive to be a Father, and a Lord to thy People, be thou the Children's Father, and the Widow's Friend, comfort thou the poor and shelter the weak; and with all thy might, right that which is wrong. And Son govern thy self by Laws, then shall the Lord love thee, and God above all things shall be thy Reward. Call thou upon him to advise thee in all thy need, and so he shall help thee, the better to compass that which thou wouldst.*

59. This Remnant (though but an imperfect Collection of something more perfectly delivered by the King) is yet enough to give us a sufficient Taste of his Affection, Care, and Pains in the Point of Instruction and Reforming of the People's Manners. And whatsoever these are now, we may yet see by the Collector's Affection, that the original Delivery had that Life and Quickness as that it took with more than an ordinary Impression.[1] 51. But

[1] Amongst Sir *Kenelm Digby's* MSS. (num. IV.) in the *Bodleian* Library is another Tract, call'd *Ælfred's Proverbs*; which however is of a late date, and contains certain Rhapsodies about the different Conditions of Man's Life. The learned Dr. *HICKS* has printed some

The King seeketh to restore Learning.

51. But the King having tryed the uttermoſt in theſe Ways, and done almoſt beyond Example for the preſent Repair of the Evil, he proceeded in the next place to provide for the better Condition of the Kingdom in after times, and by Reſtoring of Letters to have Civility (as from a Natural Fountain) diffuſed through the whole Land. But that Work alſo was here made very difficult; for that the barbarous *Dane* had not only accidentally deſtroyed Learning, while through his Covetouſneſs he made Prey of all Places in which there was any Proviſion for it, but had with a particular Malignance toward Learning, Civility, and Religion, raged not only againſt the Profeſſors of them, but even againſt the Profeſſion it ſelf, giving as well the Books and Houſes of ſuch Men to the Fire, as their Perſons to the Sword; and that with ſo univerſal a Perſecution, as that when now the King ſhould go about Reſtoring of Letters, he had not in all his Kingdom of *Weſt-Saxony* (which is all that Part of the Iſland that lyeth on the South ſide of the *Thames*) a Man that could tranſlate a *Latin* Epiſtle, or underſtand the *Engliſh* of the *Latin* Service; nor were there at that time but very few in any other Part of *England* that could do it. And though by that Scarcity at home the King were forced to ſeek for Learned Men abroad, yet even there alſo (in all Places on this ſide the *Alpes*) Scholars and Men of Learning were very ſcarce, by reaſon of the like Irruptions of thoſe Northern Nations into the South Weſt Parts of *Europe*, which in every place produced much what the ſame Effects. But whereſoever the King could light of any Men for his purpoſe, by all the means he could he procured them to come over to him, and help him in ſetting again on foot the Knowledge of Letters here in this Land: and ſuch was his exceeding Liberality in the Entertainment of them, as that, notwithſtand-

ſome part of it in his *Theſaurus Ling. Sept.* p. 222. to whom I refer you, for a further Account of it. This I take to be the ſame ſort of Book that is mention'd in MS. *Laud.* G. 9. f. 43. b. where 'tis ſaid that K. *Ælfred's Proverbs* were extant at that time.

ing

ing their Scarsity, he soon furnished himself with very choice Men, of whom there are some that are to this Day remembred unto us.

52. *Joannes Erigena*, [1] an [2] *Irish* man, (as also his Name signifies) but better known by the name of *Scotus*, which in those times was a common Appellation both to the *Scotish* and the *Irish*, a man of a very sharp Wit, and of singular Learning [3] (for the time he lived in) both in Arts and Tongues, especially the *Greek*, the *Chaldee*, *John Erigena.*

1 *Bale. Malm.*

2. So some Authors, *Eri* or *Erin* being the old Name for *Ireland*. Others say he was born at *Aire* in *Scotland*. And a third sort think his Birth-Place was *Ergene*, *Erigene*, *Erinven*, *Erynig* or *Ereinuc* in the Confines of *Wales*.

3 This appears from his Works, which are (1) *De Eucharistia lib.* I. Written by Command of *Carolus Calvus*, and condemn'd by the Council of *Verceils An.* ML. [*Berengarii Epist. ad Richardum* edit. à *Dacherio* Spicileg. Tom. II. p. 510.] 'Tis now lost; tho' there are some who affirm that 'tis the same with that, which goes under the Name of *Ratram* or *Bertram*: but *Mabillon* [*Præf. ad Part.* II. *Sec.* IV. *Act. Bened.* p. 44.] has prov'd this to be a Mistake. (2) *Versiones Dionysii Areop. lib.* IV. viz. I. *De Cœlesti Hierarchia.* II. *De Ecclesiastica Hierarchia.* III. *De Divinis Nominibus.* IV. *De Mystica Theologia.* This was a Literal Translation, and was dedicated also by him to *Carolus Calvus*. A great Part of it was published in *Dionysius's* Works at *Colon.* MDXXXVI. [see Dr. *Cave's Hist. Lit.* Vol. I. p. 549.] There are two very Ancient Copies of it in the *Bodlejan* Library, [*Mus.* 148. and *Laud.* I. 58.] with diverse Epistles of *Dionysius*, translated likewise perhaps by *Scotus*. To both which, besides some Verses and a Preface written by *Scotus*, and published by Archbishop *Usher*, [in *Epistolarum Hibernicarum Sylloge*, pag. 57.] is prefixed *Anastasius Bibliothecarius's* Epistle to *Carolus Calvus*, giving an Account of his Translation of the *Greek Scholia* of *Maximus Confessor* and *Joannes Scythopolitanus* upon these Pieces of *Dionysius*; which *Scholia* I find added in the Margin of *Laud's* MS. (3) *De Prædestinatione adversus Gotescalcum*, lib. I. Publish'd at *Paris an.* MDCL. 4to. by *Gilbertus Mauguinus* in pag. 103. of the first Tome of *Veterum Auctorum qui IX Seculo de Prædestinatione & Gratia scripserunt opera & fragmenta.* 'Twas answered by *Prudentius* Bishop of *Troyes*, as also by *Florus Magister* and the Church of *Lyons*. See there p. 191, and 575. (4) *Versiones S. Maximi de Ambiguis S. Dionysii & Gregorii Theologi*, publish'd by Dr. *Gale* in fol. *Oxon.* 1681. (5) *De Visione Dei. Mabillon* found it in a MS. at *Clarevallis* near *St. Omer's*, with this Title, *TRACTATUS Joannis Scoti DE VISIONE DEI. Omnes sensus corporei ex conjunctione nascuntur animæ & corporis.* Never yet published. (6) *De Divisione*

Chaldee, and the *Arabick*, for attaining of which he had spent many years both in *Athens* and other Eastern Parts, and thence returning into *Italy* and so into *France*, he was for his Peerless Learning highly Honoured by the Emperor *Carolus Calvus* [1], who called him *Master*, and took it well enough that setting with him at Meat on the other side of the Table, and being merrily asked by him, *quid interest inter Scottum & Sottum*? he should answer him *mensa tantum*. *What difference is there between a* Scot *and a* Sott, quoth the

---

Naturæ, *libb.* V. publish'd by Dr. *Gale*, with the foresaid *Ambigua*. (7) *Epistolæ*. What these Epistles were is not known. We find none but what are præfix'd to his Books by way of Dedication. (8) *Versus*. What these were it does not appear. For we know of no Collection; only there are certain which are scattered amongst his other Writings. (9) *In Martianum Cappellam Commentarii*. In the *Cottonian* Library there are Commentaries upon this Author in a very old hand; but there is no Author's Name to them. Dr. *Gale* takes them to be *Dunchantus's* an Irish Bishop. Indeed in the Library of Mr. *Charles Thayer* of *Gloucestershire* there is a MS. Commentary upon *Cappella*, which is ascrib'd to *Dunchantus*; but who this Prelate was I cannot yet tell: he being not (if I am not mistaken) so much as mentioned by Sir *James Ware* either in his Book about the *Irish* Bishops or in that of the Writers. (10) *Excerpta ex Macrobio*. These *Excerpta* are thought to be the same with that Treatise, *de Differentiis & Societatibus Græci Latinique verbi*, which is commonly printed at the End of *Macrobius's* Works. (11) *De Disciplina Scholarium*, *lib.* I. *Bulæus* [Tomo primo *Historiæ Academiæ Parisiensis* in Catalogo Scriptorum] attributes it to *Scotus*, but it generally goes amongst *Boëtius's* Works. (12) *Disputatio quædam cum Theodoro Studita*. It cannot be genuine; because *Theodorus* liv'd long before, and could not reach to the Time of *Erigena*. Besides this Dispute seems to be about the Worship of Images, which was controverted in the Time of *Alcuine* and *Joannes Scotus Mailros*. Without doubt therefore 'twas written by *Mailros*, who is confounded by some Authors with *Erigena*. 'Tis in MS. in the King of *France's* Library. (13) *Versio Moralium Aristotelis*. (14) *Versio libri Aristotelis de Regimine Principum*. Both these are doubtfull, especially the latter, which in the MSS. is ascrib'd to *Joannes Patricius Hispanensis*. (15) *Commentarii in Aristotelis Prædicamenta*. Thought to be written by another *Scotus*. (16) *Dogmata Philosophorum*. (17) *Homiliæ*. (18) *De Fide contra Barbaros*. These three last are also doubtfull, notwithstanding they are said to be *Erigena's* by *Bale*, who if he had seen them would have given us the Beginning of them.

I *Moved*

Emperor?

Emperor? *There is but a Table between them*, quoth *Scotus*.

53. This *Scotus* afterward, at the Instance of King *Alfred*, came into *England*, and having first been helpful to him, for his own Instruction both in Language and Arts, he after at the King's Procurement taught publickly in the Monastery at *Malmsbury*, where (upon some Faction) he was murthered in a little Church by his Scholars with their Penknives, and his Body obscurely buried until that (as they write) a frequent Light was observed to shine upon the Place of his Burial, and then his Cause being better considered, he was reputed for a Martyr, and his Body being taken up was buried again in the greater Church with this Inscription:

Clauditur hoc tumulo sanctus sophista Joannes,
Qui ditatus erat jam vivens dogmate miro:
Martyrio tandem Christi conscendere regnum,
Quo meruit. Sancti regnant per secula cuncti.

54. There was another also of some note, that he likewise had out of *France*, one *Grimbald*, a Man of singular good Life; who, besides that he was very Learned, was skilful in Musick, and an Excellent Church man. It is said, that the King first came to the Knowledg of him by his Courtesy, he having made very much of him in his Childhood at *Rhemes*, when he was in his Passage toward *Rome*, and that [1] the Arch-Bishop [2] there, at *Alfred*'s Entreaty, did after send this *Grimbald* to him into *England*. *Grimbald.*

55. Others there were [3] that he had from other Places, but whence appeareth not. The first Abbot of New-Abby in *Æthelingy* was of *Old Saxony*, and most of

1 *Malmsb.*

2 His Name was *Fulco*. In *Nic. Harpsfield*'s History there are extant the Heads of a Speech, made by *Grimbald* in a Synod at *London* (not mentioned by Sir *Hen. Spelman*) before King *Alfred* and Archbishop *Ethelred* or *Elfred*; wherein he discoursed gravely and wisely of the Primitive Dignity of Human Nature, and of it's Corruption by the Fall of *Adam*. The whole is said to be in the *Annals of Winchester*.

3 *Asser.*

the Monks there were Priests and Deacons that were Forreigners. Two notable Monks he light upon in the Monastery of St. *David's*, in the furthest Corner of *South-Wales*, who being wholly devoted to their Monastick Profession, and much in fear of the *Danes*, and of their own Tyrannous Kings, lived so concealed in obscurity, thereby to avoid the being made a frequent Prey, as that they were not easily found; and when they were found they were as hardly won (although at the Importunity of the King) to quit their House and come and live at Court.

Asser Menevensis.

56. The one was *Asser*, firnamed from that place *Menevensis*; who, though he apprehended that the Interest he might have in the King's Favour might much redound to the Good of their Monastery, and that he himself might thereby likely do more good Offices to the House, than ever he should be able to do by living in it, yet could he not be drawn to more than to divide with the King between the Monastery and him, and to yield to be six Months at once (at the most) with the King, and six again in his own House. This was that *Asser*[1] in whom the King so much delighted, whom he made Bishop of *Shirburn*, and beside many other things bestowed on him *Amersbury*, *Banwell* and *Exeter*. He in the King's Life time wrote that Summary of his Actions[2] that is now extant, and dedicated it unto the King himself, but lived not to continue it unto the End of his Reign.

John of St. David's.

57. The other Monk which he had from St. *David's* was likewise in great esteem with him for his Learn-

1 *Malmsb.* & *Ingulfus.*

2 'Twas not written by *Asser* Bishop of *Shirburn*, but by *Asser*, his Uncle, Archbishop of *St. David's*. For in the Book it self it is said that he writ *An.* 893, which was ten years after the Death of the former, as appears from *William of Malmsbury*. I know indeed in another Book of *Asser's*, call'd his *Annals*, publish'd by Dr. *Gale* in the second Vol. of the *Oxford* Historians, 'tis expresly said that *Asser* Bishop of *Shirburn* died *An.* 909; but that being an Addition of a later Hand, I suppose it to be an ignorant Mistake for *Asser* Archbishop of *St. David's*.

ing,

ing, especially for his Skill in Logick, Musick and Arithmetick. He is not known by any other Name than *John the Monk*, and likely he is the same, whom in the Preface to *Gregorie's Pastoral Ælfred* calleth *John his Mass Priest*, who among others taught him (as he there saith) to understand and be able to translate the same.

58. Others he had of noted Learning who were *Saxons*, Natives of the Kingdom, and yet, in regard of the Circumstances of their Procurement, many of them may justly be numbred among those whom he had from Forreign Parts.

59. *Werefrid*[a] Bishop of *Worcester*, who held that Bishoprick in the Life of *Burrhed* King of *Mercia*; but the *Danes* invading *Mercia* and expelling *Burrhed*, *Werefrid* (whose *Province* was in *Mercia*) was fain to provide for himself beyond the Seas, until he was restored by *Ælfred*. He is by *Leland* and *Capgrave* termed the *Antesignanus* of all the Learned Men of *Ælfred's* Court. Him the King set to translate *Gregorie's* Dialogues. He was a very Venerable Man while he lived, and after his death he was honoured with the Title of *Saint*. *Werefrid* Bishop of *Worcester*.

60. *Plegmund*[3], whom *Ælfred* made Arch-Bishop of *Plegmond* Archbishop.

---

1 Some confound him with *Joannes Scotus Erigena*.

2 Werefrithus *Asser*. Werefrichus *Malmsb.* p. 45. *de Gestis Regum Angl.* But *Hereford* p. 279. *de Gestis Pontif. Angl.* as I find it in the Print; tho' in our MS. (in Bibl. Bodl. Arch. D. 30.) 'tis *Hereferth*, just as Mr. *Wharton* found it in an Index at the End of a MS. Copy of *Florence of Worc.* cited by him, *Angl. Sacr.* Vol. I. p. 471. where he also notes that he is called *Averefredus* by some. Warfridus *Sim. Dun.* ap. X. Script. 131. 9. *Werefridus* in *Leland de Scriptoribus*, Vit. Alfredi Magni; and so also in his Life of this Bishop as corrected by his own hand in the MS. tho' at first writ *Wirofridus*. Some Authors call him *Wirhertus*, as is noted by Bishop *Godwin de Præsulib.* p. 503. But whereas he there, with *Leland* and *Bale*, makes him to have died an. 911. it ought to be corrected 915. as is very well observ'd by Mr. *Wharton*. Under the Number 911. in *Leland* was formerly put something, which is since eras'd by the Author (as it seems) himself.

3 He is generally said to have sate Arch-Bishop 34 years; but Authors being not agreed about the Time of his Death, there is some Dispute

was his Duty (for *Latin* they underſtood not, neither was there any to teach it, and *Saxon* Books of that Subject, it ſeemeth, there were none,) the King made ſuch uſe both of the Advice and Travel of theſe Learned Men, and ſo well beſtirred himſelf, as that what with diligent Search after Men of Capacity, (both for Life and Underſtanding) and what with infinite Pains in teaching ſuch as were found capable, he e're it were long got all his Biſhopricks furniſhed with Men, that if not learned, were yet competently inſtructed and qualified for a Reaſonable Function of ſo great a Charge.

66. But becauſe the Making of Biſhops was but a Temporary Proviſion, and (how mean ſoever they were) it was uncertain whether when they were gone there ſhould as fitting Men be found to ſupply their Places; therefore, to provide for the worſt, the King held it neceſſary to cauſe ſome Books (ſuch as might be profitable and of moſt uſe to Church Men) to be tranſlated into the *Saxon* Tongue, and accordingly ſet his Biſhops and Clerks to the preſent Tranſlating of them. He himſelf (among other things) tranſlated *Gregorie's Paſtoral* concerning the Duty of Biſhops and Prieſts, and cauſing many Copies thereof to be written, ſent to every Biſhop's See one, to the End, that if, through the like occaſions, the Church hereafter ſhould be conſtrained again to confer the Eccleſiaſtical Dignities upon unlearned Men, and ſuch as underſtood not the *Latin* Tongue, they yet in their Mother Tongue might have means to read the Duty belonging to their Charge, and Paſtoral Function, as by the Preface to the Tranſlation of *Gregorie's Paſtoral*, directed to *Wulfrig*, then Biſhop of *London*, more at large appeareth, the Tenour whereof (well near word for word with the *Saxon*, which by way of Appendix I have alſo added with other like Particulars[1] at the End of the Book) you may here behold.

And in Tranſlating Books.

1 Neither the ſaid Preface, nor any other of theſe Particulars appear in the Original.

67. Ælfred

67. Ælfred *King wisheth Greeting to* Wulfsig *Bishop his Beloved and Friendlike, and thee to know I wish, that to me it cometh very often in mind, what manner of Wise Men long ago were throughout the* English *Nation, both of the Spiritual Degree, and of the Temporal, and how happy the Times then were among all the* English, *and how the Kings, which then the Government had of the People, God, and his written Will obeyed, how well they behaved themselves both in War*[1] *and Peace, and in their home Government, how their Nobleness was spread abroad, and how they prospered in*[2] *Knowledge and in Wisdom. Also the Divine Orders how earnest they were, as well about Preaching, as about Learning, and about all the Services that they should do to God, and how Men from abroad Wisdom and Doctrine here in this Land sought, and how we the same now must get abroad if we would have them. So clean has Learning fallen among the* English *Nation, as that there has been very few on this side* Humber, *that were able to understand the* English *of their Service or turn an Epistle from* Latin *into* English, *and I wot there were not many beyond* Humber *that could do it. There were so few as that I cannot bethink me of one on the South side of the* Thames, *when I first came to Reign. God Almighty be thanked that we have ever a Teacher in Pulpit now. Therefore I pray thee that thou do (as also I believe thou wilt) that thou that Wisdom, that God has given thee, bestow all about on them thou canst bestow it, think what Punishment shall for this World befall us, when as neither we our selves have loved [Wisdom] nor left it to others; we have only loved the Names that we were* Christians *and very few of us the Duties. When I minded all this, me thought also that I saw (before all was spoyled and burnt) how all the Churches throughout the* English *Nation stood filled with Books, and Ornaments, and a great multitude of God's Servants, and at that Time they wist very little Fruit of their Books, because they could understand no-*

1 ge heopa ꝛibbe, ge heopa ꝛyoo. 2 ꝛiger

thing

thing of them, for that they were not written in their own Language. So they told us, that our Ancestors, that before us held those Places, loved Wisdom, and through the same got [1] *Wealth and left it us. A Man may here yet see their Swath, but we cannot enquire after it, because we have let goe both* [2] *Wealth and Wisdom; for that we would not stoop with our Minds to the seeking of it. When I thought of all this, then wondred I greatly that their Godly Wisemen, that were every where throughout the* English *Nation, and had fully learned all those Books, would turn no Part of them into their own Language; but I then again quickly answered my self, and said, they weened not that ever men should become so reckless, nor that this Learning would so decay, therefore they willingly let it alone; and wot that here would be the more Wisdom in the Land, the more Languages that we understood. Then I called to mind how that the Law was first found written in the* Ebrew *Speech, and after that the* Greeks *had learned it, then turned they it into their own Speech wholly, and also all other Books. And then the* Latin *People, a little after they had learned it, they translated all through wise* [3] Interpreters *into their own Language, and all other* Christian *People also have turned some Part thereof into their own Tongue. Therefore me thinketh it better, if you so think, that we also some Books, that be deemed most needfull for all men to understand, into that Language turn, that we all know, and that we bring to pass (as we easily may with God's Help, if we have Quietness) that all the Youth of Freeborn* English *men (such as have Wealth that they may maintain them) be committed to Learning, that, while they no other Note can, they first learn well to read* English *Writing, afterward let men further teach in the* Latin *Tongue those that they will further teach and have to a higher degree. When I minded how this Learn-*

1 pelan. Understanding. pealhtodar. Interpreters. 2 pela. Understanding. 3 pealhtodar

ing

ing of the Latin *Tongue heretofore was fallen throughout the* Engliſh *Nation, though many could skill to read* Engliſh *Writing, then began I, among divers and manifold Buſineſſes of this Kingdom, to turn into* Engliſh *this Book, which in* Latin *is named* Paſtoralis, *and in* Engliſh the Heard-Man's Book, *ſometime word for word, ſometime underſtanding for underſtanding, even as I learned them of* Plegmond *my Archbiſhop, of* Aſſer *my Biſhop, and* Grimbald *my Maſs-Prieſt, and* John *my Maſs-Prieſt. After that I had learned of them how I might beſt underſtand them, I turned them into* Engliſh, *and will ſend one to each Biſhop's See in my Kingdom, and upon each there is a Stile that is of fifty Marks, and I command, on God's Name, that no man the Stile from the Books, nor the Books from the Miniſter take, ſeeing we know not how long there ſhall be ſo learned Biſhops, as now, God be thanked, every where there are. Therefore I would they ſhould always remain in their Places, except the Biſhop will have them with him, or that they be lent ſomewhither untill that ſome other be written out.*

68. The Preface containeth many very remarkable Things, in which, above all other, we may behold the King's Zealous Care to revive Religion, and to reſtore the true Knowledge and Service of God, and to increaſe the Proſperity of his People. But there being in this no more than a cautelous Proviſion for the worſt, in caſe he ſhould be prevented of bringing his more perfect Work to paſs, (as we may diſcern by the Contents of the Preface) therefore diſpatching it as ſoon as he could, he proceeds to that, which was his chiefeſt Aim, to wit, to found perpetual Schools and Seed-Plots of Learning, from whence, as from conſtant Store-Houſes, the Kingdom ſhould for ever be furniſhed of her own with Men of Quality, ſufficient in all Sciences, both Divine and Human, to ſerve the Occaſions of the State. And in ſundry Parts of the Kingdom, (as it ſeemeth) he erected Schools for Youth, ordaining, as in the Preface is declared, That every Free-

The King foundeth Schools.

man

man of Ability sufficient should bring up their Children to Learning. But for accomplishment of a full and perfect Supply, he determined to found an Universsity for the Publick Profession of Arts and Sciences generally.

And an Universsity at *Oxford.*

69. For this cause he made Choice of *Oxford*, that it should be the Seat of his Universsity, rather than any Town within the Kingdom of *West-Saxony*: in which the Policy of the King seems to have had a double Regard unto the Occasion of the State. For whereas that Part of the Land [1], which was the Borders of the Kingdom of *Mercia*, lay almost wast, by reason of the Neighbour-

1 The Reason that our Author has given for the King's fixing upon *Oxford* discovers a great deal of Partiality, and, if he had not had a respect to the Universsity built here before, would have been a stronger Inducement for him to have contain'd himself within the Kingdom of *West-Saxony*; where were several Towns not far distant from *Oxford*, of great Pleasure, wherein the King seem'd to take particular delight, namely *Wantage*, (the Place of his Nativity) *Abbingdon* and *Dorchester*. Either of these Places would have been as convenient as *Oxford* for Inviting a Conflux of People to Replant the Borders of the Kingdom of *Mercia*. And then, if he had had a Regard to Security from the *Northumbrian* and *East-Angle Danes*, there were *Northampton*, *Warwick*, *Bedford*, and several other Towns more fit for that purpose, as being situated more near the Heart of the Island. So that the chief Reason why he chose *Oxford* without all doubt was because Letters had flourished here so much before, that it had obtain'd a very great Name upon that Account. And tho' it must be confess'd that the Place at present was deserted by it's Students, by reason of the Tyranny of the *Danes*, yet here were Houses, Inns, Schools, Churches, and all Things else, that might be quickly made fit for Reception of them again. That this is not only conjectural is plain as well from what *Asser* has inserted in his Life of *Ælfred*, (which I shall have occasion to consider particularly hereafter) as from what is related in the *Annals of Hyde*, [MSS. See *Wood's Hist. & Antiq. Oxon.* lib. I. p. 8. and Dr. *Plot's Nat. Hist. of Oxfordshire*, c. X. §. 30. See also a Transcript from a Peice of *John Rouse's* Book *de Academiis*, in a Collect. of Mr. *Leland's*, given to the *Bodlejan* Library by Dr. *Plot*, inter Codd. NE. F. 11. 18. f. 28. b.] concerning the old *Bellositum*, or *Beaumont*, being placed somewhat more North than the Universsity is at present: *Quæ Universitas* Oxonie *quondam* (says he, having before discoursed of it's Restoration by K. *Ælfred*) *erat extra portam* Borealem *ejusdem Urbis, & erat principalis ecclesia totius olim ecclesia Sancti* Ægidii *extra eandem portam.* Here it had continued

Neighbourhood of the *Northumbrian* and *East Angle Danes*, the King, by Founding the Univerſity there, provided as well for Repeopling the waſted Parts of the Land, by drawing a Confluence of People thither, as for the Reſtoring again of Letters. For *Oxford* being in the outward Parts of *Mercia* it was the furtheſt Place, in which, with any reaſonable Security, an Univerſity could be placed; becauſe that further off (whether Northerly or Eaſterly) it would have fallen either within the Territory of the *Dane*, or at leaſt too near their Border, (as *Cambridge* was) and ſo obnoxious to their Inroads, and too remote for any preſent Suc-

---

nued for a great Number of Years, having had it's Original from divers *Greek* Philoſophers, who preferr'd it for it's Healthy Situation to any other Place, as we are aſſur'd by *Walter Burley*, Fellow of *Merton* College, (Tutor to the Famous King *Edw.* III. and deſervedly ſtyled *Doctor Profundus*) who upon the Problem [*Complexio rara quare ſanior?*] has theſe Words: *Notanda ſunt tria, quod civitas ſana eſt in* Borea *& in* Oriente *ſi plantata eſt aperta, & in* Auſtro *&* Occidente *ſi montoſa; propter puritatem* Boreæ *&* Orientis, *& putrefactionem* Auſtri *&* Occidentis: *ſicut* Oxonia, *quæ per induſtriam Philoſophorum de* Græcia *fuerat ordinata.* [In *Problematibus Ariſtot. ſecundum laborem Magiſtri Walter Burley ad ordinem Alphabeti.* MS. 65. in Bibl. Coll. B. *M. Magdal. Oxon.* fol. 12. b.] When it was that theſe Philoſophers arriv'd is uncertain; tho' 'tis probable they were ſome of theſe *Graecians* brought over by *Theodorus* the *Greek* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* about the Year DCLXVIII. For we find *Venerable Bede*, and St. *John de Beverlaco* (always reputed of this Univerſity) to have been his Scholars; as likewiſe were *Tobias* Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, and *Albinus* Abbot of St. *Auguſtin's Cant.* who are ſaid to have underſtood the *Greek* Tongue as well as their Native one. [*Matth. Parker de Antiquitate Eccleſ. Britan.* in Vita *Theod.*] As this Conjecture is not diſliked by ſeveral *Cantabrigians* themſelves, [See Mr. *Wheelock's* Notes upon *Bede*] ſo Biſhop *Godwin* [*De Epiſcopis*, in *Theodoro*] and Mr. *Burton* [*Græcæ linguæ Hiſt.* p. 52.] have particularly inſiſted upon it, and take Notice that at the ſame time was erected an Excellent Library, wherein were repoſited a vaſt Number of valuable *Greek* Books by *Theodorus*. But now there are others who carry the Antiquity of *Oxford* much higher than *Theodorus*, as our Author himſelf alſo takes notice hereafter, even to the Time of *Brute* [See the foreſaid MS. of Mr. *Leland's*, f. 28. b.]; which whether it be true or no is not very material: ſince, as will appear anon, we have no reaſon at all to collect all the Arguments that may be produced in behalf of *Oxford*, when the Controverſy may be ſo eaſily decided from undoubted Authority.

cour from the King. At *Oxford* therefore did the King found [1] his Univerſity. And in founding of it followed not the Example of what he had formerly heard or ſeen in other Places but with great Judgment foreca ſting what might beſt conduce unto his Ends that he deſired, he did not only make a perpetual Proviſion for Teachers, ſuch as ſhould conſtantly read to thoſe, that at their own Diſcretion would there maintain themſelves at Study; but giving Entertainment both for Teachers and Learners, and dividing them, according to their Differing Studies, into three ſeveral Colleges, he ſettled perpetual Maintenance for about 80. Scholars; who, for their better Breeding, as well in good Manners as Learning, were tyed to an Orderly Society, and enjoyned every Day, before their going to their Studies, either in their Turns to ſay Prayers themſelves, or to be preſent at them. Which though at this Day in our Univerſities is an ordinary thing, yet was it not ſo formerly, neither is it yet ſo in many Places beyond the Seas. And therefore we find it obſerved by [2] *Edward Higgons* (who is no very late Author) as a note of Preheminence in this Univerſity of K. *Alfred*. And queſtionleſs as men are ready to imitate that which another has well diſcovered, ſo our ſucceeding Founders of Colleges in our Univerſities, ſeconding *Alfred* in providing likewiſe for the orderly Cohabitation of their Students, and for their Rulineſs in Civil and good Manners, as well as for their Learning, have even in that been a great Occaſion of the Eminence and Flouriſhing of our Univerſities, before thoſe of other Parts, which (what Proviſion ſoever they have for teaching) have ſo little

1 This was about the year 800, according to a Memorand. (tranſcrib'd from an antient Book) which I ſaw in the Treaſury of *Univerſity* Coll. by the Favour of the Learned Dr. *HUDSON*. But in a MS. amongſt Archbiſhop *Laud's* (E. 3. f. 10. b.) 'tis ſaid expreſsly that 'twas *A. D.* 873.

2 MS. lib. 6. cap. 8. Et quum abunde in eiſdem ſuppeditentur facultates, communiter vivunt, ac quotidie mane aut ſacris operam dant aut interſunt priuſquam ad ſtudium aggrediantur. SPELMAN.

provided

provided for Government (while the Students, being mostly at their own finding are likewise Governed at their own Discretion) as that the Scholars in their Universities are generally so dissolute, and disordered, so that in many Places they bring a Scandal upon Religion, and make the Name of Scholars ignominious.

70. For the Buildings and Endowment of the University, what and how it was we shall have further occasion to speak, when we come to treat of the King's Magnificence. In this Place we meddle no further with it than as it concerns the well Disposing and Policying of the State.

71. As the King made Laws for civil Government, and ordered Matters of the Church, so find we also, that he improved the Use and Practice of Arms, to the great Advancement of Military Discipline; and had the Particulars of his Ordinances in that behalf remained unto us, there is no doubt but they would have afforded Matter both to his Glory, and to the Delight (and Use perhaps) of Posterity: but such Particulars failing, there yet are manifest Demonstrations, that he did much in that kind, and to very good purpose. For, as we have partly already mentioned, in every of the Counties he ordained several Prefects or Commanders, took view of the Souldiery in the Counties, and apportioned some, like Garrison Souldiers, to the Custody of the Forts and Castles, that the King had built, and others to the Service of Occasion in the Field: who being divided into two Parts, the one went first and served a certain time, and then (if need were) was relieved by the other, that had stayed at home; and over all, as his Generalissimo, was his *Princeps Militiæ*, who, under the King, commanded in chief, and by that Name the King himself in his Will stileth *Æthelred*, Earl of *Mercia*, his Son-in-Law, who (it seems) did then bear that Office. The King ordereth his Military Discipline.

72. It should also seem, that, besides those, that, as professed Souldiers, and proper Parts of the Militia, had Charge of the Military Service, the King, by way

of a Collateral Security, did constitute other Guardians of the Kingdom against the Irruptions of the *Danes*. These were Persons of great Trust, Repute, and Power, who, being constantly resident in the Places of their Charge, had, in Defect of the Ordinary Provisions, some extraordinary Commission (as it seemeth) for the Common Safety of the Country. For so we find [1] *Ceolmund* the Earl constituted a Guardian in *Kent*; in *Rochester Swithulf* the Bishop; in *Essex* Earl *Brithulf*; in *London* Earl *Æthelred*; in *Dorchester Halard* the Bishop; in *Sussex Eadulf*; in *Winchester* the Bishop *Bertulf*; and in several Places divers others[2], though not by particular Name.

73. A further Note of his Regulating of the Use of Arms is that which we have from *Malmsbury*, who thus saith of him: *Ille inter stridores lituorum, inter fremitus armorum, leges tulit, quibus sui & divino cultui, & disciplinæ militari assuescerent.* But nothing can either more demonstrate or commend it, than the Success and Consequence of his Discipline, which we before have shown. For the *Danes*, that in the beginning of his Reign had left the Island, (not so much for Fear of the Natives, as for the Multitude of Invaders, because they feared there would not be Booty enough for so many Sharers) when they, for divers years together, had overrun and harrowed the greatest Part of *France*, and questionless had improved their own Arms with long Experience and Exercise in Foreign Warfare, yet returning hither, and being safely landed, and intrenched, were ne'retheless with so great facility repulsed and sent away again, as that they never put the State to a greater Levy of Men, than only the present Forces of the Counties next about their Landing. Yea the Natives had so well found what they had to do,

1 *Math. Westm.* an. 197. *Godwin.* fol. 337.

2 Such perhaps was *Edred*, Duke or Earl of *Devonshire*, who died [*Bromton* col. 832. n. 10.] An. DCCCC, a month before the Death of King *Ælfred*, to whom he had been a Faithfull Assistant [*H. Hunt.* f. 202. n. 20.] in many Battles.

and

and had got ſo much Aſſurance in their Courſe and Way, as that, whereas before they were backward, and ſo faint as not to be put on without much Heartening and Encouragement, they grew, on the contrary, ſo forward, as hardly to be reſtrained from ſetting on the Enemy, without attending the Direction of a Commander; and, on the other Side, the Enemy from being terrible was now become ridiculous unto them.

74. I need not further urge, that he muſt of neceſſity have uſed ſome good Diſcipline, or otherwiſe that it had not been poſſible for him to have effected what he did. But let the Reader [1] remember what we have ſhewn, and judge upon the whole. The King and his *Saxons* were not only overthrown, but well nigh extinguiſhed; the Land almoſt depopulate of the Natives, and poſſeſſed by the Enemy; and how then ſhould a

---

1 *John Hardyng* ſums up the King's Military Performances in the following Words: [*Chron.* f. 108. b.]

And in the yere (*a*) viii. c. lxxx, and eightene
Then Alurede[(*a*)eght hundred foure ſcore and fiftene Whan Aluered MS. Seld.] this noble Kyng ſo died
When [whan MS.] he had reigned xxix [regned nyne and twenty yere MS.] yere clene
And with the Danes, in battailes [batails MS. & ſic mox infra.] multiplied
He faught often [faughten ofte MS.] as Colman notified
In his Chronicle, and in his cathologe
Entitled well, as [wele, als MS. recte als pro alſo] in his Dialoge.

That fiftie [fifty, & mox ſex, MS.] Battailles, and ſix he ſmote
Somtyme [ſome tyme diviſim, MS.] the worſe, and ſomtyme had the better [and ofte tyme had the bettre MS.]
Somtyme [ſome tyme MS.] the felde, he had at his note [Recius in MS. he had as it is note]
Somtyme he fled awaie, as faithy the letter [ſome tyme he fledde a way as ſaithe the lettre MS.]
Like as fortune his cauſe left unfeter [Verſus iſte deeſt in MS.]
But nevertheleſſe [...lees MS.] as oft [ofte whan ſo they MS.] when ſo thei came
He countred theim [rectius hem, & mox lond in MS.] and kepte the lande fro ſhame.

poor handful of Men against such infinite renewing Multitudes be able to subsist, much less prevail without Discipline, and that very exact? Truly were his Discipline as exact as that of the *Romans*, and had his Men the Virtue of *Cæsar's* Veterans, and he *Cæsar* himself in the Conduct of the war and them, he yet had had task enough to overmatch all those Advantages, and the more, for that his War, being at home, was so much worse than *Cæsar's*, as it is easier with small Numbers to break into others Labours, and maintain themselves by Forragings, than with a few to labour for their own Support, and when they have done defend both their Labours and themselves against a far greater Enemy, on every side attempting of them: to which Difficult also that Part of his Military Constitution seems to point, when he provided, that no Levy in any Place should be made, but that an equal Part should be left behind, as well (doubtless) to follow the Business of the Country, (for the Souldier at that time was fain to be both Souldier, Artificer, and Husbandman too) and to be at hand for a present Defence against Inroads, as to be reserved for a timely Succour of the others that were before abroad on Service.

And ordaineth a standing Navy for Mastery of the Seas.

75. It was not his Military Affairs at Land only that found Improvement, but his Care extended unto Sea Service, and that was likewise bettered by him. He was the first that put to Sea such a Navy as was awful unto Strangers, begun the first Mastery of the Seas, and in the Service of his Shipping, and found both Quiet and Reputation; his Navy being not only, for Number of Ships, so great as to keep Watch upon all the Coasts of the Kingdom, but, for the Quality of them, such as overmatched any of those that at any time infested the Seas.

76. What manner of Vessel they were, whether Ships or Gallies, does not fully appear, nor will I determine; but that they were of divers Sorts, and that some of them were nearer Ships, and others nearer the form of Gallies, that I may safely avow; and these some of

of them were of an especial Building by his own Appointment, we have already shewed, where it is not hard to collect, that those were after the manner of great long Gallies; for they were rowed [1] with 40 [2] Oars apeice, and above, and were as long again, as high again, as swift again, and more steddy in Sail than the best of the Enemies Ships.

77. How they should be so exceeding high as to double the Height of the *Danish* Ships, (when they went not with Sails but Oars) I cannot well imagine, unless that, for the better Receipt of Souldiers, and their greater Advantage in Fighting, (which in those grappling Sea-Fights consisted wholly in the Superiority of Standing) they had a plain level Deck above the Room that the Rowers sate in, and from thence with great Odds of Advantage annoyed those they sate upon: otherwise their Height, that so much advantaged them in Fight, would as much disadvantage them in speedy Rowing. As for their Steddyness, that argues their Greatness and Burthen whereby they drew the more Water; which though it were a Hindrance of their Speed, (for the greater Body the slower Motion) yet that was born out with an answerable Number of Rowers, which their Length afforded.

78. If this apprehension seem difficult, then may we reckon the Height spoken of to be meant of the Height of their Poupes onely, and not of the Height of the whole Sides of the Ships, and so we may think them to have retained somewhat of the Fashion of those of the [3] *Venedi*, with whom when *Cæsar* fought the Height

1 *H. Hunting.*

2 So *Bromton*; but the *Sax. Chron.* says [*sub an.* DCCCXCVII.] 60 Oars. Ða het Alfrieð cyning timbrian lange scipu ongen þa æscas. þa þæron ful-neah tþa sþa lange sþa þa oðru. sume hæfdon LX. ara, sume ma. þa þæron ægðer ge sþiftran ge unþealtran. ge eac hyran þonne þa oðru. Næron hie naþðer ne on Frisisc gescæpene, ne on Denisc, bute sþa him selfum þunte þæt hie nyt-þyrðoste beon meahton.

3 The *Venedi* were of the *Britains* in *France*, with whom these *Britains* had Intercourse. *Cæsar.* SPELMAN.

of

of their Poupes exceeded the Tops of the Fighting-Turrets, that were in *Cæsar's* Ships: but those Ships of the *Venedi* went not with Oars, but with Sails of Leather; and these either only or chiefly with Oars.

79. If further we inquire after the Form of Shipping used by the *Saxons*, *Tacitus* tells[1] us that the *Suiones* (who were part of the *Suevians*, as the *Saxons* were) used a Kind of Shipping in the *Baltick* Sea very rude and plain, that was high before and behind, and made indifferent to go with either End forward, but forced only with Oars, which they did not use in any constant, fixed Seats of Rowing, but removed to and fro to any End or Part of their Ships as occasion served, (as we may see them do in our Cock-Boats and Lighters.) Those were slow for any Service, though *Tacitus* counts[2] the *Suiones* to be some body in Shipping. Whether the *Saxons* came over in such Vessels, and whether they continued the Use of them, or found here a better Form, I shall leave to the Disquisition of others. It is sufficient to our purpose to shew, that, whatsoever they formerly were, the King augmented the use of them, both in Number and Condition, over what they were before his coming to the Crown.

And advanceth Navigation.

80. Neither did the King improve the use of Shipping to the End of making them serviceable for Fight only, but for Navigation also, and for Traffick; so as he was able upon the occasion of a Vow to send his Alms by Shipping into the *East-Indies*, to the great Admiration[3] not only of those Times but of many after Ages. From whence they brought him a fair Return of precious Stones, Perfumes, and other Eastern Rarities never seen before in these Parts.

81. And to shew the Latitude of the King's Mind and Genius, in all Dimensions truly Royal and August, there is (as I have been informed) in Sir *Thomas Cot-*

1 Libr. de Germ. mor. 2 Præter viros armaque classibus valent. *Tacit.* lib. de Germ. mor. 3 Quod quivis in hoc seculo miretur. *Malm.* de gestis Pont. lib. 2.

ton's

ton's Library an old Memorial of a Voyage of one *Ohther* a *Dane*, performed at King *Ælfred's* Procurement, for the Diſcovery of ſome North-East-Paſſage. This I attended ſometime to have ſeen, but it being no more than two or three Leaves, and, upon ſome Removal of Books and Papers, diſplaced, and not readily to be found, I had no hope of obtaining it before a general Review and ſorting of the Papers. What that Record it ſelf is, I know not, but, to imagine the leaſt, and to judge it to be no more than that which is publiſhed concerning *Ohther* by Mr. *Hakluyt* and Mr. *Purchas*, in their Collections of Diſcoveries and Voyages, it yet affordeth thus much, that *Ælfred*, among the ſeveral Sorts of People that he ſought out and procured, entertained one that was expert and induſtrious in Navigation, whom leaſt we ſhould think to be but accidentally brought unto the King, (only to relate his own Fortunes, in which the King had no hand at all) we may obſerve, that that Relation ſpeaketh of *Ohther's* Coming as of an Act of his own Will and Purpoſe, and not a caſual Thing. And to ſhew that his Intent and End of Coming was to offer his Service to the King, as aſſured to find him forward in Entertaining Men of his Condition, and ready to further his Addiction, whether to Diſcovery general, or to the particular of Whale-Fiſhing, it not only mentioneth *Ælfred*, as *Ohther's* Lord and Maſter, but ſheweth, that, upon his Return from his late Diſcovery, he brought ſome of the Horſe-Whales Teeth as a preſent unto the King. Neither is there mention of any caſual occaſion of his coming, nor is it likely in thoſe Times there ſhould have been ſo particular a ſetting down of the Relation that a Stranger made (for the Original is in *Saxon*) if ſome particular Purpoſe of the King's and his Deſire or Commands had not given Occaſion to it. The Relation, for ſo much as concerns our purpoſe, as it is tranſlated by the Publiſhers, is as followeth.

82. Ohther *ſaith, that the Country, wherein he dwelt,*

was

was called [1] Helgoland. Octher told his Lord King Alfrid, that he dwelt farthest North of any other Norman: He said, that he dwelt toward the North Part of the Land toward the West Coast, and affirmeth, that the Land (notwithstanding it stretcheth marvellous far toward the North, yet it) is all desert, and not inhabited unless it be very few Places here and there, where certain Fins dwell upon the Coast, who live by Hunting all the Winter, and by Fishing in Summer.

83. He saith, that upon a certain time he fell into a Fancy and Desire to know how far the Land Stretched Northward: whereupon he took his Voyage directly North along the Coast, having always the Desert Land upon his Star-board, and upon the Lar-board the Main Ocean, and continued his Course for the Space of three Days: in which Space he was come as far toward the North as commonly the Whale-Hunters use to travel; whence he proceeded towards the North as far as he was able to Sail in other three Days: at the end whereof he perceived that the Coast turned toward the East, or else the Sea opened with a main Gulf into the Land he knew not how far. Well he wist and remembred that he was fain to stay till he had a Western Wind, and somewhat Northerly; and thence he Sailed plain East along the Coast still so far as he was able in four Days, at the End of which Time he was compelled again to stay until he had a full Northerly Wind; for as much as the Coast bowed thence directly toward the South, at leastwise the Sea opened into the Land he could not tell how far: so that he Sailed thence along the Coast continually full South so far as he could travel in five Days, and at the 5 Days End he descried a mighty River, which opened

[1] Alias *Ægeland* and *Halgeland*. 'Tis in the Latitude of 66 Degrees. See *Hakluyt's Voyages*, Vol. I. p. 435. In the *Saxon* Translation of *Orosius* by King *Alfred* there is an exact Relation of the Voyage of *Octher* and *Wolstan*, (an *Englishman* also as it seems) which is in several Things different from the Printed Account in *Hakluyt*, as may be seen by consulting it in the Appendix of the *Latin* Translation of this Life.

very

very far into the Land: at the Entry of which River he stayed his Course, and in Conclusion turned back again: for he durst not enter thereinto for fear of the Inhabitants of the Land; perceiving that on the other Side of the River the Country was throughly inhabited, which was the first peopled Land which he had found since his Departure from his own Dwelling, whereas continually through his Voyage he had evermore a desert Wilderness upon his Star-board-side, except in some Places he saw a few Fishers, Fowlers, and Hunters, which were all Fins, and all the way on the Lar-board the main Ocean.

84. The Biarmes told him a Number of Stories, both of their own Country and the Countries adjoyning; howbeit he knew not, nor could affirm any thing for certain Truth, for as much as he was not upon the Land himself. This only he judged that the Fins and Biarmes spake but one Language.

85. The principal purpose of his Travel this way was, to increase the Knowledge and Discovery of these Coasts and Countries, for the more Commodity of Fishing of Horse-Wales, which have in their Teeth Bones of great Price and Excellence, whereof he brought some at his Return unto the King. Their Skins are also very good to make Cables for Ships, and so used.

86. This Kind of Whale is much less in Quantity than the other Kinds, having not in length above seven Ells. And as for the common Kind of Whales, the Place of most and best Hunting of them is in his own Country, whereof some be 48 Ells of length, and some 50, of which Sort he affirmed that he himself was one of the six, which in the Space of three Days killed threescore.

87. He was a Man of Exceeding Wealth in such Riches, wherein the Wealth of the Country doth consist. At the same time that he came to the King he had of his own Breed 600 tame Deer, of that Kind which they call Rain-Deer. He was among the chief Men of his Country one; and yet he had but 20 Kine, and 20 Swine, and that little which he tilled he tilled it all with Horses.

Their

Their principal Wealth conſiſteth in the Tribute which the Fins *pay them, which is all in Skins of wild Beaſts, Feathers of Birds, Whale Bones, and Cables and Tackleings for Ships, made of Whales or Seals Skins. Every man payeth &c.*

He improveth Manufactures.

88. Now, in the laſt place, the King had as well Conſideration of the Defect of the Kingdom in Want of Artificers, and Handy-Craft Men, as of thoſe that were of nobler Profeſſions, and accordingly from all Places procured ſuch alſo to come over to him; ſo that his Occaſions and Liberality being once ſpread abroad, his Court was ſoon frequented with Strangers of all Profeſſions, *Gauls*, *Franks*, *Armorick-Britains*, *Germans*, *Friſons*, *Scots*, *Welſh*, and others, whom while he entertained with the Liberality of a Prince, according to their ſeveral Qualities, he ſtored his Country with Men of all Variety of Faculties; and, being furniſhed with their Help, made a fuller and ſpeedier Reſtauration of the defaced Beauty and Defects thereof, than one could think ſo ſhort a peice of one Man's Life could ever have effected.

89. And though in all the Works, that at any time he had in hand, he himſelf was ever the principal Agent, and his Spirit (like *Apollo* among the *Muſes*) inſpired and directed the whole Affair, yet knowing the many Occaſions of the State required as well many Heads as Hands, and that Aſſiſtance in Council did not only make a good ſecure Proceeding, but expedite and ſet forward his Buſineſs, his Manner was, upon all Occaſions, with much Examination and Reaſoning, according to the Importance of the Matter, to hear the Opinion of his Counſel, whom, though they were not yet known by that Name, yet may we properly call his Council of State, and this, according to the ſeveral Occaſions of the State, was of two Sorts.

His Counſel of two Sorts.

The Great-Council of the Kingdom.

90. The firſt was the Great-Council of the Kingdom, with whom (after the uſage of his Anceſtors in *Weſt-Saxony*, as alſo of all the Kings of the *Saxon-Heptarchy*) he conſulted in the Making of Laws, in Diſpoſing and

and Settling of his Demeasnes, (as we may see in his Testament) and in ordering of Matters that concerned the well Governing of the Common-Wealth. And these were the Bishops generally, the Earls of the Counties, the King's Aldermen, and his Chief Thanes or Barons, (as we may render them) that held any notable Part of the Counties of him.

The Privy-Council.

91. The other sort were those, whom we may count his Privy-Council, with whom he advised always in private of his more secret and extraordinary Affairs, weighed, and examined Matters before they came to be propounded in the greater Council. These were those particular Bishops, the Abbot, and the Monks that we before have mentioned, all of them Clergy-Men, who being of singular Note and Eminence for Wisdom, Learning, and Integrity of Life, were therefore (like *Hushai* with *David*) assum'd into the Friendship and Familiarity of the King, and by him consulted with as their several Abilities rendred them serviceable to his Occasions. Not that they then bare the Name of his Privy-Council, (for it was not at that time a Dignity of distinct Office and Employment;) but being in his Favour and always near him, they were the only Men, whom, above all other, he preferred in communicating himself in his Affairs of chiefest Consequence.

Orig. of the constant use of the solemn Councils now called Parliaments.

92. When severally to every Defect or Evil Appearing in the State the King had provided a particular Remedy; then, considering the continual Change and Innovation, that new founded and growing States were necessarily subject to, he held it not secure to leave the Success of all upon the Administration of the Ordinances that he had already made: but, that by continual and certain Intelligence of the Condition of the Common-Wealth he might be able to foresee the coming Evil and prevent it; or undertaking it before it had gotten Strength, with more facility redress it; he instituted, for a perpetual Ordinance[1], that twice in the Year,

1 Le Roy *Ælfred* ordeigna pur usage perpetuel, que a deux fois per lan,

Years and oftner if need required, there ſhould be an Aſſembly (that is of the Great-Council of the Kingdom the Biſhops and the Nobles) held at *London*, to conſult of the well Governing of the Common-Wealth.

93. This (we muſt underſtand) was an Aſſembling of the Repreſentative Body of the State, ſettled by *Alfred* in a formal and a conſtant Courſe: not that it was of one and the ſame Form and Solemnity with our later Parliaments; but, as the whole Kingdom was then entirely either in the Hands of the King or of his Earls and Thanes; and all that held Lands under them, held them in ſuch Subjection and Dependence, as that they were wholly at their Lords Diſpoſe; ſo what was then ordained by the King, his Earls, and Thanes, was a binding Law to the whole Kingdom; for that it was the Act of thoſe that had the Abſolute Intereſt, and did involve the Right of the Reſidue as of ſuch as were but their Leige-Men and Vaſſals. As for the Biſhops that were ever Members of thoſe Grand Councils and Parties in the Sanctions of them; beſides that, in reſpect of their Temporal Poſſeſſions, they had the Intereſt of Thanes or Barons, the ſacred Eſteem of their Perſons and Function, together with their Predominance of Underſtanding, did not only make their Votes equivalent to thoſe of the Nobles, but even the whole Act to have the more Reverend Eſteem and Acceptation.

94. From this Inſtitution of the King's grew (as it ſeemeth) an uſual thing among his *Saxon* Succeſſors to hold Aſſemblies of their Biſhops and Nobles conſtantly thrice a year (to wit at *Chriſtmaſs*, *Eaſter*, and *Whitſuntide*) in ſolemn Conſultation of the Affairs of the Kingdom, not always in one Place, but in any, as occaſion required, (though moſt commonly in the Place, where the King kept his Court and Reſidence) and ſo in the Aſſembly at *Safford* in *Oxfordſhire* before mentioned we ſee it done in *Ælfred's* Time.

per lan, ou pluis ſouent pur miſtier, in temps de peace ſe aſſemble a *Lohdres* pur Parliamenter ſur &c. *Mirror aux Juſtices*, cited by Sir *Edw. Coke* in his Preface to the ninth Report. SPELMAN.

Ælfred

Ælfred the Great,

First Founder of the *English* MONARCHY.

Book III.

Containing His Magnificence, Devotions and Private Life.

1. THE Imperial Sovereignty, that before King *Ælfred's* time is reckoned to have been in this Kingdom, as it was upon no fixed Ground, but ambulatory among the several Princes of the *Heptarchy*; so was it feeble and of small Regard. The Regalty had not (as yet) her due Advancement, neither had Majesty conspicuously enough distinguished the Head from the inferior Members. But no sooner did the King begin to draw the Traces of a Monarchichal Platform, and in this Land give Rooting to that goodly Cedar, but presently, in Demonstration of Liking, and of the Kindliness of the Place, it began to sprout and branch, and in the Leaves, the Blossoms, and the Fruit, to shew all Properties of true Imperial Sovereignty. So as there further wanted only time to bring it to that Height and Beauty, that Nature in the Situation had afforded to it.

2. The King having mastered his War, united the Divided Kingdoms, established Peace, ordered Matters of Religion and Manners, settled Commerce and Trading, and so given unto the Crown the necessary Limbs and

The King adorns and beautifies the Kingdom.

and Members which it was to have, proceeds unto those other Works, which neceſſarily following the former belong properly to the Apparelling of the State, and offer as much unto the Glory as the Profit of the Kingdom. And though Works of this Nature are not uſually performed without ſome concurrent Vanity in the Doer, (which in truth diminiſheth the Merit of them) yet the King is contrarily obſerved to have been no whit taken with any vain Affectation of Glory in them, but led along in all his Works with the only Conſideration of what was correſpondent for them.

3. As therefore the State that had ſerved him, while he was only (as we may call him) a Gregary King among others of like Condition, were nothing ſuitable to him, when afterward he was become ſole Monarch, and alone comprehended whatſoever they all before had had among them; ſo now ſomething was of *Decorum* to be innovated. The Principality was become not only greater of Extent, but different of Nature; more high and more ſacred. So that the accommodating of Things incident to ſuch an Augmentation of Empire muſt needs be without Obſervance of ſome Magnificence and State fitted in propriety unto it. Which the incomparable Worth of the Prince himſelf alſo exacting, to whom could there be more Liberty allowable in doing Right unto his own Merit than unto him? His Sovereignty was of his own Acquiſition, and in it God had given him, not only to be innocent, (a thing rarely found among Princes, that have by their own Arms augmented their Dominions) but to be meritorious alſo, as redeeming it out of the Hands of Barbarians and Infidels, which with how much Noiſe among his Neighbours *Ferdinand* of *Arragon* has boaſted of we all do know. If we conſider his Perſon, we ſee him in his Sovereign Parts of Mind above all Things crowned with Devotion, inwardly adorned with the Beauty of inherent Juſtice, (we may call it.) His outward Actions apparelled with the glorious Habiliments of Wiſdom, Fortitude, Juſtice Diſtributive, Mercy, Temperance, Munificence,

nificence, &c. For his Repute, we see him beloved of his own, and honoured far and near both of his Neighbours and of Strangers. But he a serious Prince, and not carried away but with being that which others desire rather to seem to be, affected neither vast Works, that had no other End than only Ostentation, neither yet Titles, Trophies, Historical Columns, nor Triumphal Arches, laden with the Story of his Actions, but in the mute and silent Deed of Virtue, although he little sought it, yet got he that true Honour which in the other way so many in vain have sued for.

4. In turning his Hand to those Works of the Kingdom, which properly refer to his Magnificence, we reckon in the first Place the Repair of the Desolation of the Land, in Founding and Building of Cities, Towns, and Castles, new out of the Ground in Places, where formerly there had been none, and in Repairing or Walling of others, that had been ruined by the Enemy; of which though time has so eaten out the Knowledge, as that now they are not particularly to be set forth, yet were they not so few, but that the Writers of his Actions have purposely, to shift the Labour of Recounting them, given a Stop to their Pens, as fearing they should run into too infinite Particularities. *Quid loquar* (saith *Asser* and *Florentius*) *de urbibus renovandis, & aliis, ubi nunquam antea fuerant, construendis?* as if they should say, it were infinite to enter into the Particularizing of them, and therefore they omitted them. Time by chance brought to light the Inscription of a Stone that told him to have been the first Founder of *Shaftsbury*. And (as *Malmsbury* saith) it was then another manner of Town than afterward in the time that he writ. The Stone with the Inscription was digged out of the Ruins of old Walls, and placed in the Chapter of the Nunnery there, and contained thus:

Anno Dominicæ Incarnationis 880.
Ælfredus *rex fecit hanc urbem, regni sui* 8°.

His Repair and Building of Cities.

5. Of

[1] Mr. *Camden* in his Discourse concerning *Shaftsbury* [Brit. pag. 157. Edit.

to it. Of the Cities which he Repaired *London* is one that is expressly mentioned, of which (beside that which we have already related) we may add, that his Reparation was as good as a new Founding of it, the *Danes* had so wholly ruined it. Indeed *Asser*, speaking of *Elfred's* honourable Reinauration of *London*, saith that *he made it habitable*; as if that before it were not so; and certain it is, that, till this Reparation, neither in *Elfred's* Reign, nor yet of a good while before do we find any Mention of other Habitation there, than only that it was become an Hold of *Danes*, which, because upon the Sea, and far advanced up into the Land, was for their purpose very much to be desired.

6. With like Reparation may we collect, that he Rebuilded *Winchester*, which, having been the Ancient Court and Seat of the Kings of *West Saxons*, was in his Brother *Ethelbright's* Reign utterly destroyed by the *Danes*, and was the subject of that Elegy of *Hen. Huntingtons* beginning thus;

Urbs antiqua ruit multos dominata per annos, &c.

As for *Ethelread*, that, for the Space of six Years succeeded between *Ethelbright* and *Elfred*, he was all that while so hardly laid to by the *Danes*, as that it was all that he and *Elfred* could do in those Times to defend themselves against the Fury of them, so as the making it again a fit Seat and Court for a King (as it after was to *Elfred*) must of necessity be the King's

---

197. Edit. ult.] Likewise cites this Inscription from *Matthew Paris*; but adds that 'twas wanting in all the MSS. he consulted, but in one of the Lord *Burleigh's*. He has publish'd the words in a different order from the printed Copies, *viz.* *Anno dominicæ incarnationis Elfredus rex fecit hanc urbem* 880. *regnante*. We have a MS. in the *Bodlejan* Library (Arch. D. 30.) given by the late Mr. *Selden*, in which this Passage is extant; and the Words of the Inscription are plac'd in the same Order that they are in the printed Copies; but for 800. is corruptly written there 900. and for *anno dominicæ* is there read *anno enim dominicæ*; as if there were something more belonging to the Inscription.

own Act. But what do we making Conjectures of Particulars? when the manner of the *Danish* waſt conſidered, they, having broke in, poſſeſſed and ſpoiled all, even the Heart and Choiceſt Part of the Land, we may conclude there was not any Habitation more or leſs then left unto the *Saxons*, ſave only the naked Places, whereon their burned Houſes formerly had ſtood; ſo as whatſoever their Cities and Towns after were, we may preſume they were of their own Repair, in which the King's Travel and Induſtry (conſidering how ſtupid and [1] backward the *Saxons* of themſelves were to every Work) was of no ſmall regard.

7. Neither was the Reparation notable in Regard of the Greatneſs and Univerſality only, but it was alſo of an Extraordinary Kind, both in regard of the Materials, and of the new Manner. You ſhall hear *Aſſer's* own words: *De civitatibus & urbibus renovandis, & aliis, ubi nunquam ante fuerant, conſtruendis ædificiis, auctis & ingentibus, incomparabiliter, illo edocente, fabricatis; de aulis & cambris regalibus, lapideis & ligneis, ſuo juſſu mirabiliter conſtructis; de villis regalibus lapideis, antiqua poſitione [2] muratis, & in decentioribus locis regali imperio decentiſſime conſtructis.* &c. For when the Walls of Towns and Caſtles were but Wood and combuſtible, (as we may ſee by thoſe of *York* and *Rocheſter*, that they generally then were) Stone Buildings were very rare, till *Alfred* made them more frequent.

8. What was the Number of Forts and Caſtles that he built is likewiſe no where exſtant [3] that we find; but Forts and Caſtles.

where

1 Maxima perturbatione & controverſia ſuorum, qui nullum aut parvum voluntarie pro communi regni neceſſitate vellent ſubire laborem, &c. *Aſſer.*

2 So in the Original MS. of our Author. But *muratis* both in Archbiſhop *Parker's* Edit. of *Aſſer*, (pag. 28.) and in Mr. *Camden's*. (pag. 17.) *Motatis* is the true reading as it ſeems. Conſult Sir *Hen. Spelman's* and *Du-Freſne's Gloſſ.* voc. MOTA. Our Author hath alſo a little above *docente* for *edocente*, contrary to the printed Books. Mr. *Walker* has *minatis* for *muratis*.

3 Notwithſtanding there be no expreſs mention in any Author of the Forts and Caſtles built by him, yet 'tis commonly reported

where *Asser* inveighs so abundantly against the Stupidity of the *Saxons*, who, though they saw the Use and Benefit of them, yet no Commands nor Perswasions of the King's could make them ply the Erecting of them where he appointed, till some miserable Calamity, through their Slackness, did too late excite them to it. There may we discern their Number could not be small, and that from the very End of their Building. For being set for preventing the sudden Inroads of the *Danes*, (which were on every side of the Land) it both implies that they were chiefly erected about the Sea Coasts and Sides of great Rivers, and also that they were so many as to be sufficient to disappoint the *Danes* of Landing, or at least of Making any prosperous Incursion, which also we see they did effect.

Monasteries. Houses of Religion.

n. 9. The Building of so great and mastering a Navy, as we have spoken of, was a Work truly Royal and Magnificent, as well in regard of the Greatness of it and Number of the Vessels, as of the Goodness and Abi-

---

that he was the Founder of *Middleton* and *Basford* in *Kent*, of the *Devises* in *Wilts*, and of *Ælfreton* in *Derbyshire*. *Malmsbury* also was ridden'd by him after 'twas destroy'd by the *Danes*. And I believe too: that the City of *Norwich* was either repair'd after some devastation, or else that it had some Addition made to it by him. For in one of his Coyns publish'd by the ingenious Sir *ANDREW FOUNTAINE*, [Tab. I. n. 9.] there is a Monogram, which Mr. *Edw. Thwaites*, in his Notes upon these Coyns, has ingeniously guess'd to be *CIVITas NORTHVICum*: and I believe 'twas occasion'd by his Benefaction to the Place, unless we rather think with others that it only denotes that 'twas coyn'd here. I know indeed that Mr. *Walker* and some others, with whom Sir *ANDREW* seems to agree, are of Opinion that this Coyn belongs to *Ælfred* King of *Northumberland*; but what overthrows this Opinion is the Head it self, which does not much differ from the heads of King *Ælfred the Great*, which Mr. *Walker* himself has publish'd. Nor indeed was *Norwich* a Place of any note in the time of *Ælfred* King of *Northumberland*, as Mr. *Camden* has very well observ'd in his Discourse upon that place; not now to insist upon the Wreath, which incircles the Head, and is more agreeable to the times of *Ælfred the Great*, than those of *Ælfred* K. of *Northumberland*: and for that Reason Mr. *Selden*, in his *Titles of Honour*, mentions it as his, and places it amongst his other Observations concerning Coronation in the Western Parts after the time of *Charles the Great*. See below in Not. ad § 77. lib. III.

lity

lity of the particular Ships. But because we are not able to speak more of their Particularities, than what we have already done, it shall be sufficient in this Place to have again remembred them only, and forthwith proceed to such other of his Works as any way relate to his Magnificence.

10. The Monasteries that he founded and endowed are properly to be reckoned among his Works of this Nature. Yet that first which he founded at *Æthelingey* will seem but little to contribute to them: and, to say the Truth, it was a Work greater indeed in the Devotion from whence it proceeded, than in the Magnificence of the Structure.

11. The River-Island *Athelney* [1] in *Somerset-shire*, which is inclosed between the *Thone* and the *Parret*, and which (for the greatest Part) was anciently nothing but a vast Fen and Alderkarre, having afforded the King (as it is already said) a commodious Place of Refuge, in the time of his Distress, grew of that Note here, that the *Minturnian* Fens in *Italy* were not more famous for *Marius* his Lurking in them, than these were for having been the King's Hiding-Place, insomuch that loosing the Name *Athelney* it came to be called *Æthelingey* [2]; that is to say *the Island of Nobles*, through the frequent Resort and Residence of Noble-Men there with the King. In this Island was one only Piece of very firm Ground, not much above the Quantity of two Acres at that time, compassed with Waters and rotten Moor, so that it scarcely admitted any Access. The King upon this Place built a Castle, and made it a very strong Hold, and forcing [3] a Way unto it by a Bridge or Cawsey, for Guard of the way he built on either side a Tower, whereby he commanded the Way, *Æthelingey.*

1 Tis call'd *Mothelingenia* in a MS. that I have seen in the Bodleian Library, call'd *Brutus*, inter Codd. Digb. 11. f. 117. a. Corruptly perhaps, for in *Ethelingeia*. Others write it *Adelingeia*.

2 But *Edelyngesgate*, in a Catalogue of the Founders of divers ancient Churches in *England*, MS. Digb. 196. And so likewise in another Copy of the same Catalogue MS. NE. E. 2. 17.

3 *Asser.*

 and

and made himself a commodious and secure Receptacle. Afterward, having with [1] better Success made use of his Hiding-Place than *Marius* did of his, in grateful Acknowledgment of the Mercy and Benefit he had there received, he, at the Return of his Fortune, Dedicated both the Castle and the whole Island with it to the Honour and Service of his Preserver, to be henceforth the Seat of a Monastery, which he soon after [2] built.

12. This Monastery, according to the Scantness of the Place, and Want of Means of Building, (for it was his first) while yet he had neither Workmen, nor had found the Use of any Extraordinary Materials, was both little and all of Wood; and yet there wanted not particular Curiosity to set it forth. For the Church (whether to avoid the Inconvenience of Raftiness in so fenny a Place, or for some other End which we cannot conjecture now) was all wholly born up upon four main Wooden Pillars, and was inclosed round about with [3] Cancellings or Chancel-Work, they having not then the Use of Glass, nor other means to shut out the Violence of Weather, and yet let in sufficient Light, than by fine open Work, Carvings, and Lattices of Window-Work, of which (to express the Curiosity) *Malmesbury* saith that they were carved *opere Sphærico*.

13. This being speedily finished in Performance of a Vow, gives some Touch of the King's Care and Diligence in Holy Matters, as also of His Industry in Supplying those Things whereof there was then so much

---

1 Terra Monasteriolum & officinas Monachorum habet. *Malm. de Gest. Pont. lib. II.*

2 From the Charter in the *Monasticon* and *Reyner* 'tis evident that here was a Monastery before, and that 'twas only rebuilt or enlarg'd by *Ælfred*.

3 Ælfredus *fecit* (saith *Will. of Malmsb.*) *Ecclesiam situ quidem pro angustia spacii modicam, sed novo ædificandi modo compactam. Quatuor enim postes solo infixi totam suspendunt machinam: quatuor cancellis opere sphærico in circuitu ductis.* Which our Author (as Mr. *Walker* observes) does not rightly understand. For we read nothing here of Window or carved Work: but 'tis said that there were four *Cancells*, *Choirs*, or *Chapells*, surrounding the *Area* or *Auditorie* of the Church.

Defect.

Defect. But having perfected it, he was so great a Plunge to get religious Persons to fill it, as that though he sought abroad and got him an Abbot out of *Old Saxony*, and divers Monks out of *France*, yet was he forced to fill up his Number with some that were but very Youths, he affecting such, rather than elder Men, that were altogether void of Literature, and hopeless of any good Improvement.

14. The next Religious House that he founded was a Nunnery, or Monastery of Nuns, in his new City of *Shaftsbury*, at the East-Gate thereof. This he stored with Nuns, most of whom were the Daughters of Noblemen; and over them he made his own Daughter *Ethelgeva* the first Abbess. These two Religious Houses he so well endowed, as that though it appeareth not how many Persons were of the Foundation, yet were not their Revenues less than the full eight Parts of his own yearly Revenues[1], which he assigned to their particular Maintenance. Afterward he also built[2] a Religious House of Nuns in *Winchester*.

Shaftsbury.

15. The last of his Works of this Kind was the Monastery which he founded in *Winchester* called the *New Monastery*. This (though we find little concerning it, yet) being founded in the Principal City of *West-Saxony*, where his Seat and Court was, after his Affairs settled, and for the Burying Place of himself and Successors as it seems to have been intended, we cannot with likelyhood judge but that it was the greatest Foundation of the Four. But being a Work that he set upon but a little before his Death, it was so far from being finished in his Life Time, as that *Malmsbury*

Winchester.

1 In Mr. *Leland's* MS. Collections Vol. II. f. 219. a. we are told that *Elgiva* Wife to *Edmund*, Great-Grandson of *Ælfred*, was foundress of this Nunnery; upon which Mr. *Leland* himself remarks in the Margin that she might enlarge or repair it, but that 'twas first built by K. *Ælfred*.

2 *Malmsb.*

3 The Annals of *Winchelcumb* [in Bibl. *Cotton*] and *Roger Hovenden* [fol. 281. b. n. 50.] say that his Wife *Ælfwith* was Foundress: And so *Leland* also, [*Collect.* Vol. I. p. 337.] only with this Addition, That neither *Ælfred* nor *Ælfwith* could finish it before their Death.

bury

bury counts it rather designed by him than[1] built. Yet the Foundation of the Church and chief Parts of the Monastery were laid; but there wanted Room for some of the Offices, and *Grimbald* (who was the first that set the King upon that Work) was designed the first Abbot of it. It was placed so near the Cathedral Church of *Winchester*, that the Singing Men in the Quire of the one were easily heard into the Quire of the other, and gave Occasion of many Differences about it. The Place being as we said straight, and hard to be inlarged, the King[2] was fain to pay the Bishop a Mark of Gold for every Foot of Land, which he was forced to buy that he might have Commodity sufficient for the Shops or Work Houses for his Monks Offices belonging to the Monastery.

16. It appeareth by *Speed's*[3] Table of Collection of Monasteries (with the Dedication, Founders, and Values of them) that the Monastery of *Hyde* in *Hampshire* was also of *Alfred's* Foundation, though built and perfected by his Son *Edward the Elder*. This is true, but thus to be understood: the Inconveniences that followed the first Foundation of *Winchester* Abbey within the City caused *Edward* his Son to change the Seat of it, and to build it without the Gates, to which he translated the first Materials and Endowments, and this (it seems) is that Abbey of *Hyde*, of which *Alfred* is said to have been the Founder.

The King an Universal Benefactor.

17. These are the Religious Houses of which he was the sole Founder; but if we should reckon all[4] to which he

1 Yet in one of Sir *Ken. Digbie's* MSS. [num. 11. f. 157. a.] 'tis positively said he founded this Monastery, and endowed it with large Revenues.

2 Ad hujus Monast. officinas instituendas. *Camden's* Annales. Ad unumquemque pedem marcam auri publico pondere pensitavit. *Malm.* de Gest. Pont. lib. II.

3 Mr. *Speed* was not the Author of this Collection, but Mr. *Burton*, the *Leycestershire* Antiquary, as appears from Sir *Hen. Spelman's Councils* Tom. I. p. 215. and Mr *TANNER's* Pref. to his *Notitia Monast.*

4 Amongst the MSS. of Sir *Ken. Digby's* in the *Bodlejan* Library there is one [num. CLXVIII.] containing several Matters relating to *English*

he was a Benefactor, we must upon the matter reckon all that were then extant in this Part of Christendom, and in no small Proportion neither. For having (as we shall shew anon) given the one Half of his Yearly Revenue to God, and so distributed it in Parts, that one Fourth thereof should be allotted for constant Revenues to the two foresaid Monasteries of *Æthelingey* and *Shaftsbury*, he gave another Fourth part to the Relief chiefly of the Monasteries of *West-Saxony* and *Mercia*, but in the second Place to all the Monasteries in *England*, *Wales*, *Ireland*, and *France*, by turns, and as the more pressing need of any of them required.

18. His Endowment of the Bishoprick of *Durham*, with the Gift of all the Country betwixt *Tine* and *Tise*, we have already mentioned. And the Cathedral Church of *Shirborn* had [1] in *Malmesbury's* Time some of the precious Stones that were brought *Ælfred* upon Return of the Voyage set forth by him unto the *Indies*, with which it seems that that Church among others was presented. It seemeth also That *Ælfred* was a great Benefactor to the Abbey of *Glastenbury*. For *Hen.* II. in his Charter of Confirmation unto that Church, among other Grants [2] of his Predecessors [3], reckons also the

---

English History, wherein 'tis said, *Ælfredus plurima monasteria construxit*, that King *Ælfred* built a great many Monasteries: which is confirm'd likewise by *Rob. of Glocester*, MS. Digb. 205. f. 74. b. where he says, Habbeys he rared many on: in many stredes I wis. And indeed 'tis certain he did contribute to all the most considerable Churches and Religious Houses in *England*. But what is said, in a Transcript of Mr. *Sommer*, [*Antiquities of Cantab.* pag. 315.] *Anno* DCCCXLIX. Heth [one MS. calls it *Etheredshith*] *dat fuit per Ælfredum Regem* Plegmundo *Archiepiscopo*, *& successoribus suis ad opus Ecclesiæ & Monachorum*, ought to be corrected: for immediately before 'tis said *Wesingmerhs* was given by *Plegmund* in the year DCCCXCV. Perhaps therefore it should be DCCCXCIV.

1 *Malmeb.* de Gest. Pont. lib. II.

2 He is also reckon'd amongst the Benefactors to this Abbey in a MS. which I have seen in the *Bodlejan* Library. [*Compendium Chronologicum in quo* Glastoniensis *fragmenta quædam Historica. Laud.* MSS. D. [illegible]]

3 *Nich. Harpesfeild*, fol. 3. cap. 2.

Charters

Charters of King *Alfred*. And he likewise Re[gained] the first of the Benefactors to the Abbey of *Wilton* [in] 15.) There is yet extant the Copy of a Charter [of] Grant of King *Elfred's* unto the Church of *Wor[cester]* in *London*, upon this Occasion: *Wulfhun*, Bishop of *Wor[cester]*, had Bought of *Burrhed*, (then King of *Mercia*) and of *Ceolmund*, Prefect of *London*, a certain Portion of the Customs of the Port there with the Liberty of a Bushel and Weights and Measures belonging: *Alfred* coming after to be Lord of the City granted freely to the Church of *Worcester* a certain Space of Ground, extending from the great Street (which then was next the Wharf) unto the Walls of the City, and containing 26 Perches in Length, and 13 Perches and [a] Foot in Breadth, free and discharged of all Publick Duties, together with the Liberty of a Bushel and Scales [to] in that Precinct, and all Forfeitures and Duties thereof coming to the Benefit of the Church of *Worcester*. The Tenor of the Charter (according to the Imperfect Copy) is as followeth:

An. D. 889. Privilegium *Ælfredi* alias *Aluredi* Magni Regis *Anglorum* de urna & trutina Ecclesiæ *Wigornensi* in *Londonia* concessum.

Ego *Ælfred*, Rex *Anglorum*, pro salute animæ [me]æ nostrarum, vel [3] *Ædelred*, subregulus & patricius *Mer[ciorum]*, ad Ecclesiam *Weogernensem* in *Londonia* [in] curtem, quæ verbo tenus ad antiquum petrosum [mu]rum [4] i. e. ante portam montanam a civibus appellatam, [et] strata publica usque, in murum civitatis, cujus longitudo [est] pertricanorum 26. latitudo pertricanorum, 13. [et] dimidium, donamus. Et unam urnam & trutinam ad [mer]candum in emendo seu vendendo ad usum sive [ne]cessitatem *Christianam*, & liberum omnimodis [ha]

---

1 First built by St. *Ethelburg*, Sister to King *Ethelbert*, for [the] best and most religious Uses; encouraging *Alfred* encreas'd them to 48; [but] excited to this piece of Piety after his Defeat of the *Danes* at [Ed]*forne* near *Wilton*, [*Leland's Coll.* Vol. II. pag. 195.] tho' Mr. *Rhe[ad]* Oroner mistakingly ascribes another Reason. [*See Mon. Ang.* Tom. II. p. 207.]

2 *Sed alibi dicimus. Angl.* Tom. I. p. 139. and *Mist. Fund.* [p.] which calls *Alfred* and *Ethelburg* the Founders of it.

3 *Æthelred* in Edit. Walkeri. 4 i. e. ath hus [illegible] Ed. Walkeri. 5 *Deest* in Ed. Walkeri.

&

& totius debiti & panis fiscalis vel pub. rei nisi ad damum Episcopi [1] *Weogrnensium*. Quæ intus contingat absoluta persistat; si autem forisfactio in strata publica vel in ripa emptorali quislibet mercaverit, juxta rectum thelonum ad manum regis subeat, si vero in curte prædicta ad manum Episcopi. Si quis hanc donationem &c.

Ego [2] *Ælfred* Rex *Anglorum* & *Saxonum*.
Ego [3] *Æthelred* subregulus & patricius *Merciorum*.
[4] *Æthelfleæd*. (This was *Ælfred's* Daughter and *Æthelred's* Wife.)
Wulfred Episcopus.
Alharde Episcopus.
[5] *Parfrith* Episcopus.
Denewulf Episcopus.
Wulfsig Episcopus.

20. Next unto these are we to reckon the Schools which the King founded. And amongst them the University of *Oxford*, than which of all the Works of his Magnificence there was not any of greater Note, and Consequence, as well for the important Benefit thereby brought unto the Nation, as also for the ample and exact Institution, beyond the Use and Example of any whatsoever formerly in Being. The Founding of the University of *Oxford* denyed.

21. But when I should come to shew what this was, I meet with an Obstacle that puts me almost beside my Purpose of instancing in that Particular. For that *Ælfred* was the first Founder of the University of *Oxford*, is a Matter controverted, denyed, disclaimed by the University her self, (as I understand it) and (by the Apology for her Antiquity) determined to the contrary. And yet seeing it falls so directly cross my Argument, I shall crave leave of all that are opposite in Opinion, that, for the better doing right unto the Honour of a Prince so well deserving of all, and particularly of those

1 *Weogernensium* in Edit. Walkeri. 2 Sic in Exemplari Spelmanniano. Lege *Ælfred*, ut edidit Walkerus. 3 *Athlred* in Ed. Walkeri. Supra *Ædelred*. 4 *Athelfleed* in Ed. Walkeri. 5 *Parfrith* in Ed. Walkeri.

of

of *Oxford*, I may for this once, without Censure of Pertinacity, briefly draw the Question to a new Examination.

The Controversy examined.

12. I will not (like a good Pleader) save to my self the Advantage of all the Errors and Insufficiencies that are in the Argument against me: for I do not undertake the Parties opposing, but only assay how well I can make any Discovery of the truth. I have often found *Alfred* stiled *First Founder of the University of* Oxford, and I am so much engaged to the Subject I have undertaken, as not to swallow without Examining a Construction so much differing as *First Founder* and *Restorer* are. Wherefore, as briefly as I may, I will examin in which of the two Titles I shall speak him.

23. It is pretended, That the University of *Oxford* was an Academy of Letters before our *Alfred*'s Time, yea before the *Saxons* Coming over, even in the Time of the Ancient *Britains*. And this Pretence is fortified with many Arguments, which are at large to be seen in the Apology for the Antiquity of the University. The best of which are grounded upon Authorities that clearly receive their greatest Approbation and Credit from certain Passages in Mr. *Camden*. As for *Leland* and *Jo. Rofs* (who are also cited in the Apology) they have scarcely any Thing of moment to this Purpose, which (if the Passages in Mr. *Camden* be taken away) will not fall together with them.

24. Mr. *Camden*, in his *Britannia*, though well affected to promote the Pretence of the University his Foster-Mother, yet coming to speak of *Oxford*, he warily, according to his constant Gravity, and in general Terms only delivers himself to this purpose: *Prudent Antiquity, as we may read in our Annals, hath even in the Time of the* Britains *consecrated* Oxford *to the Muses, whom they brought from* Greece *hither as to a more happy Nursery.*

25. Mr. *Camden* here Vouches our Annals, but in particular quoteth none: and as we can less question an Authority which we know not, so if he had gone

no

no further we had perhaps without Examination received his Testimony upon his own Credit. But when in the Title *Wiltshire* he comes to speak of *Grecklade*, and to vouch the Story of *Oxford* for Schools at *Grecklade* that should be translated to *Oxford*, he then discovering his Authority makes his Testimony subject to the Fate and Credit of that Story. Now the Story of *Oxford* (as the [1] Apology delivers it, for I have not seen it my self) mentions indeed the Foundation of *Oxford* to be recorded in Ancient *British* Stories: but then not mentioning any Thing in particular that should be delivered in them, it of it self goes on to this purpose: *It is reported that certain* Greek *Philosophers being with* Brute *and his* Trojans, *when they triumphantly entered into* England, *chose them a place of convenient Habitation, to which in Remembrance of themselves they left the name of* Greecklade. *A quo quidem loco non longe situm Oppidum* Oxon. *nescitur esse situm, quod, propter amœnitatem, Bellositum olim antiquitas, postmodum* Oxenforda, *à quodam vado vicino sic dictum, populus* Saxonicus *nominavit, & ad locum studii præelegit.*

26. Truly what some Annals that I have not seen may do, I cannot say, but *Oxford* Story affirms no such Thing as Schools at *Grecklade*, neither yet Residence of Philosophers there (otherwise than by Report.) And if it had expresly affirmed it, yet had it not gone so far to derive the Antiquity of the University high enough, but it had come as far short in Bringing it home to *Oxford* in the *Britains* time. For if it were granted there were once Schools at *Grecklade*, and if it were again granted that those Schools were translated from thence to *Oxford*, yet by their own Story it was not translated thither by the *Britains*; nor the Name given by them: but *populus* Saxonicus *nominavit, & in locum Studii præelegit*; the *Saxons* named it, and the *Saxons* preferred it for the Place of an University. And it will be Work enough for a new Apology to shew any such

1 Apolog. lib. II. sec. 1. 2 *Cam.* Wiltsh. 256.

Thing

Thing done at *Oxford* by any *Saxon* King, or other *Saxon* whatsoever before *Alfred's* Time.

27. The *Oxford* Story (wee see) hath mainly failed even in the Thing for which I fear the Pretenders have no other Authority; neither has it been so happy as to be furnished in other Circumstances, which were requisite for winning of Credit with those that shall hear it. For though the Author pretends to have seen very ancient *British* Stories of the Foundation thereof, yet it has not (that I hear) done the Founder so much right as to discover his Name, nor done the University so much Honour as to tell what was the *British* Name whereby it was known in the Time of the *Britains*; neither have the *Romans* taken Notice of any University there while they had to do with the *Britains*; neither yet is there so much as a *British* Name whereby the Town was known in the Time of the *Britains*: for as for *Caer-Wenbet* and *Caer-Vortigern*, Mr. *Camden* himself slighteth them; and for *Rhidy-chen* it appears not that ever it was the Name of the Town, but a late *Welsh* render of the *Saxon* Name *Oxford*, as Mr. *Camden* himself also sheweth in these words: Britannis *nostris hodie* Rhid-ychen *nominatur*. So likewise is *Beaumont* a late *Norman* Name, and but of a particular Place in or near *Oxford*, and *Bellositum* a *Latin* Render or Allusion to it.

28. With the like or greater Infelicity was the Error committed in the Fiction of the *Greek* Philosophers seating of themselves at *Crecklade* in *Wiltshire*. The Contriver wanted Judgment to think how ridiculous it would prove to suppose *Greek* Philosophers to forsake their own Country and the Society of their Victorious Country-Men; and to come over with *Brute* and his *Trojan* Fugitives before the Time that Learning flourished in *Greece*, and at their first Entrance into

1 Nonnulli hanc *Caer-Vortigern*, & *Caer-Vember*, Britannice appellatam, & nescio quos *Vortigernos*, & *Mempricios* extruxisse opinantur. *Camb.* Tit. *Oxfordsh.*

this

this Land, while it was nothing yet but desert Woods and Wilderness, and all that they could do little enough to find them means to live, should at the first dash fall upon the Founding of an University, and then passing over their own Language, and the *British* (which was the Language next ensuing) to give the Place a Name significant only in the *Saxon* Tongue, which was not then here spoken. But *Jo. Ross* lets forward the Absurdity, when he does not only second this, but taking notice (it seems) that *Lech* signifies a Physitian, a dead Body, or a Carcass, (as in the *Saxon* Tongue it doth,) he adds, that there were Physitians among the Philosophers, and they also choose them a Place which was not far distant, and that Place was from them called *Lechlade*; with what likelyhood any one may judge, when the Names (both *Grecklade* and *Lechlade*) are of *Saxon* Signification, and the Towns standing each upon some *Creek* or Outlade to the River were severally called the one *Grecklade*, that is, *the Outlade*, or *Lading Place at the Creek*, and the other *Lechlade*, that is, *the Lading Place, Seaver, or Outlade at the Carcasses*.

20. But if *Grecklade* should be admitted to have been a Seat of Letters, you shall hear how *Ross* and *Leland* (in the Apology) bring it to *Oxford*. *Ross* says *there is a large Plain, close to the Walls of* Oxford, *which is called* Bellomont, (*or* Beaumont,) *and because this comes near to one of the old Names of the Town, that is to say,* Bellesitum, *therefore many think* (saith *Ross*) *that the University of* Grecklade *was translated to* Bellamont, *or* Bellesite. And *Leland*, speaking of *Grecklade* School, says that the Teachers *ex Grecklade loci amenitate ducti* Calevam *transtulerunt*, they brought the Schools to *Caleva*; and that Mr. *Camden* understands to *Wallingford*; so unless one could prove *Caleva* to be *Oxford*, neither of these Authors affirms that there were Schools brought from *Grecklade* or *Greeklade* to *Oxford*.

30. Mr. *Camden* having (as we said) delivered that *prudent Antiquity had in the* Britains *time consecrated*

Lading Place at the Carcasses.

Oxford to the Muses, he proves it thus. *Scribit enim* Alex. Necham (saith he:) juxta vaticinium etiam *Merlini* viguit ad vada boum sapientia, tempore suo ad *Hiberniæ* partes transitura.

31. Mr. *Cambden* (we must observe) cites *Necham*, and not *Merlin*. And if we take no more than the words that are cited, they make no Proof of that which Mr. *Camden* alleges. For admit *Merlin* prophesied that Wisdom should flourish at the *Ford of Oxen*, and let *Necham* be a Witness that, according to the Prophesy of *Merlin*, Wisdom had already flourished there; both those may be true, and yet Wisdom might never flourish there 'till *Alfred* planted it. But if you will say that though it appeareth not by the Words cited out of *Necham*, yet *Merlin's* Prophesy affirms that Wisdom flourished at the *Ford of Oxen*, in the *Britains* time, and that *Necham's* Words must so be understood, truly they that say so must produce a Prophesy of *Merlin's* to that purpose. For in his Prophesy now extant, I can find no such thing. And that credibly no Prophesy of *Merlin's* can contain any such Matter, we know that *Merlin* prophesied in the End of the *Britains* Reign in the time of *Vortigern*, (the King that called the *Saxons* into *England*;) and then we are sure that if *Merlin* any where mentions any Flourishing of Wisdom at *Oxford*, if it were in the *Britains* time, *Merlin* could not speak it by way of Prophesy, (as *Necham* cites him) but by way of History. And if they will have the Thing spoken to have been by way of Prophesy, then must it be prophesy'd for the *Saxons* Time, which presently followed. And then Mr. *Camden* cannot maintain his Assertion by that which he hath here cited out of *Necham*.

32. Mr. *Camden* proceeds and tells us, that because of the frequent Destruction of Cities, that followed in the *Saxons* time, *Oxford* was a long time famous for Nothing but St. *Frideswid's* Reliques, but then, after the Storm of the *Danish* Fury was allayed, *Alfred* restored to the banished Muses their own seat again, (meaning *Oxford*:) for better understanding of which,

he

he relates a Part of the old Annals of *Winchester*, in these words: *Anno Dominicæ incarnat.* [1] *MCCCVI. anno* 2do. *adventus Sancti* Grimbaldi *in* Angliam, *incepta est Universitas* Oxoniæ, *primitus in eadem regentibus &c.* Truly I should have thought that this had been a proof of the first Founding rather than Restoring of the University, but that Mr. *Camden* understands it otherwise, and backs his Construction with a manifest Evidence to the contrary.

33. Soon after, (saith Mr. *Camden*) *at legitur in optimo MS. illius* Asserii *exemplari*, (the Contents [2] of which he sets down *verbatim*) there followed such a Dissention between *Grimbald* and the Scholars, that came with him, of the one Part, and the old Scholars, that were found there at their Coming on the other Part, for that the old Scholars would not observe *Grimbald's* Form of Reading, but stood for the ancient Form there instituted by *Gildas*, *Melkin*, *Ninius*, *Kentigern*, and others, that *Ælfred* himself was fain to come in person to *Oxford*, to decide the Controversy: who hearing patiently both Parties, exhorted them to Peace and Concord, and so returned. But *Grimbald* taking these things ill, left *Oxford*, and went to *Winchester*, to the new Monastery which *Ælfred* had built there, and caused his Tomb which he had lately prepared at *Oxford* [3] to be removed from thence to *Winchester*.

34. This I confess [4] is a shrewd Piece of Evidence, and I cannot blame the Author of the Apology, that he took

1 This mistake is corrected thus, *anno DCCCLXXXVI.*

2 See the Clause in *Ass. Menev.* set forth by Mr. *Camden* in his *Anglica, Normannica*, &c.

3 In St. *Peter's Church in the East*, under the Chancell: which Church was built by St. *Grimbald.*

4 Since the most industrious Mr. *Ant. à Wood* has so clearly vindicated the Antiquity of *Oxford*, and the *Cantabrigians* have not vouchsaf'd to give an Answer as yet to one Argument alledg'd by him, I think it an unnecessary Trouble to consider particularly all the Objections of our Author (being no other than what Mr. *Twyne* had taken notice of before) and shall therefore at present only shew in short, first, that Mr. *Camden* exactly follow'd the MS. he made use of.

of in his Edition of *Asser*. 2dly, That granting King *Alfred* were the *First Founder* of the University of *Oxford*, yet *Cambridge* is of a later Date by some Hundreds of Years. *First*, That Mr. *Camden* ought not to be suspected of Unfaithfulness in his Edition of *Asser*, will appear to any one, who does but reflect upon the universal Character he had establish'd in the World of being, not only a Profound Scholar, but a very Honest and Religious Man. But however Mr. *Twyne*, being not throughly satisfy'd with this, in the year MDCXXII took a Journey on purpose to *London* to discourse with Mr. *Camden* about this Particular, who, after several Things had pass'd between them, at last protested to him that he had not vary'd at all from the MS. which he appeal'd to, being then in the Hands of Mr. *Hen. Savile* of *Bank*, near *Halifax* in *Yorkshire*, and which he gues'd was written in the Reign of *Richard* II. Mr. *Twyne* put down the whole Story in Writing, which may be seen amongst his Papers in *Corpus-Christi*-Coll. Library at *Oxford*. Now the Archbishop *Parker* affirm'd his MS. (which was not in *Bennet*-Col. Library, as Sir *John* asserts, I suppose from the Preface of the Archbishop to *Asser*, but either in the Lord *Lumley's* or Sir *Rob. Cotton's*) to be much more Ancient than this; yet there are some Circumstances, which shew that 'twas written much about the same Age, especially the Verses in it compos'd by *Hen. Huntingdon*, who flourish'd after the year MCL, and the Conclusion which gives an Account of *Asser*. And as we have no reason to suspect Mr. *Camden's* Honesty upon this Account, so 'tis certain that the Vault mention'd in the Clause is now to be seen in St. *Peter's Church in the East, Oxford*; and there is a Passage in *Will. Malmsbury* which agrees exactly with this, that there was an University before the Time of King *Ælfred* at *Oxford*, and that he call'd *Grimbald* over to assist him in the Restoring of it. *Monasterium*, says he, [*De Gestis Regum Angl.* lib. II. c. 4. p. 44.] (*quod novum dictum*) *Wintoniæ construxit* Ælfredus, *ubi* Grimbaldum *abbatem constituit*; *qui*, *se evocante*, *& archiepiscopo* Rhemensi Fulcone *mittente*, Angliam *venerat*; *cognitus*, *quod se puerum olim* (*ut ferunt*) Romam *eumtem benigno hospitio consoverat. Causa evocationis*, *ut literaturæ studium in* Anglia *sopitum*, *& pene emortuum sua suscitaret industria.* Where by the word *Studium* must be understood an *University*, the name of *Universitas* for a *General Study* being not us'd 'till some time after. As to the Incoherence in Chronology which our Author takes notice of, I have already obsery'd that the Monks were bad Chronologers, to which I shall add nothing more, only that *Asser* is guilty in some other Places of the like Inconsistence, which nevertheless are not call'd in question by any that I know of. But *Secondly*, Granting that King *Ælfred* were the first Founder of the University of *Oxford*, yet the University of *Cambridge* is of a later Date by some Hundreds of Years. For first, *Sigebert* King of the *East-Angles* was not the Founder of that University, as the *Cantabrigians* assert, for which (notwithstanding they are favour'd by *G. J. Vossius*, Ep. p. 15.) they have no other Ground than what *Bede* delivers in his Account of *Sigebert*, viz. Sigebertus, *ea*, *quæ in* Galliis *bene disposita vidit*, *imitari*

turi cupiens, instituit scholam, in qua pueri literis erudirentur; juvante sc. Episcopo Felice, *quem de* Cantia *acceperat, eisque pædagogos ac magistros, juxta morem* Cantuariorum, *præbente.* By which words 'tis certain we must understand no more than that he built a Grammar-School for Boys. For otherwise he would have been far from imitating what he had seen in *France*, where 'tis plain there was no University at that time from this Passage of St. *Jerom*, [*Epist. ad* Rusticum:] *Audio* (saith he) *religiosam te habere matrem, multorum amorum viduam; quæ alsit, quæ erudivit infantem; ac post studia* Galliarum, *quæ vel florentissima sunt, misit* Romam, *non parcens sumptibus, & absentiam filii spe sustinens fructuorum, ut ubertatem* Gallici *nitoremque sermonis græviras* Romana *condires*, &c. For if there had been then any University in *France*, why should *Rusticus* go to *Rome* to be instructed in Academical Learning? Is it at all likely that he would have undertaken a rough and tedious Journey over the *Alps*, for obtaining that which he might with so much Ease have receiv'd at home, if there had been any University in this Country at that time? But there is no need of dwelling any longer upon this, since every one, who is but meanly skill'd in the *French* History, very well knows, that the first University was founded in *France* at the Capital City of *Paris* by *Charles the Great* about the Year 791. Yet before I leave this Point, I cannot but take notice that this Passage of *Bede* is clearly made out against the *Cantabrigians* from some Collections out of an antient MS. (*de episcopis Dunnoo*) in the first Vol. of Mr. *Leland's* Coll. (f. 475. a.) in which we are told that *Felix*, the Apostle and Bishop of the *East-Angles*, did in the Reign of *Sigebert* set up Schools for teaching Letters (i. e. Grammar) in convenient Places: *Scholas literarum opportunis locis constituit*, without the least mention of *Cambridge*. The word *Scholæ* there said to be fix'd not in one but several Places is a true Explication of *Bede*, unless we will absurdly suppose that *Sigebert* founded several Universities. And some Copies of *Bede* have *Scholas* for *Scholam*. [See Mr. *Selden's* Notes upon *Drayton's Polyolbion*, pag. 191.] I have consulted nine or ten MSS. of *Bede* in the *Bodlejan* Library, but find no Variation in that Place, only in the Margin of the MS. *in Musæo* num. 47. there is put Grantebrig *schola* à Sigeberto *fundata*: but that was added by a very late hand, I think by some *Cantabrigian* after the Dispute about the Antiquity of the Universities began: And in MS. *Hatton.* 18. written about six hundred Years ago is this Note put by a Hand of much the same Age, *viz.* Sigebertus *primus instituit scolas in quibus pueri erudirentur*, which shews that 'twas the Sense of that time that we must understand *Bede* of Grammar-Schools. *Secondly*, As this Place of *Bede* makes altogether against the *Cantabrigians*, so we have no authentick Testimony of an University there 'till the Year MCIX. after *Christ*, (X*th Hen.* I.) when *Josfrid*, Abbot of *Croyland*, sent over to his Mannor of *Cottenham* [*Pet. Blessensis Contin. Hist. Ingulphi*, in rer. *Angl.* Scriptor. Vol. I. *Oxon.* edit. p. 114.] nigh *Cambridge*, *Giselebert* his Fellow-Monk, and Professor of Divinity, with three other Monks, who had followed him into *England*, who being throughly furnish'd with Philosophi-

took it ſo much to heart that Arch-Biſhop *Parker* ſhould omit the inſerting of it in *Aſſer's* Story of *Alfred*, which he ſet forth; yet I wiſh he had forborn to make a queſtion whether that Reverend Prelate, and good Promoter of Letters, had left out this Paſſage [1] *veritatis, an charitatis odio*: and the rather, becauſe Mr. *Camden* himſelf in Reprinting *Aſſer*, ſets forth the Arch-Biſhop *Parker's* Epiſtle, that precedeth the Edition firſt by him ſet forth, in which the Arch-Biſhop makes a religious Profeſſion that in all the Books which he publiſhed, he followed the Original to a very word, without adding or diminiſhing; and in perpetual Teſtimony of his Integrity therein, ſent the Originals themſelves, to be kept in *Bennet*-College Library in *Cambridge*. Mr. *Camden* alſo in his Epiſtle preceding *Aſſer*, and this Epiſtle of the Arch-Biſhop's, complains of no Omiſſion in the Arch-Biſhop's Edition, but maketh an Honourable Mention of him, and ſhews, that when he had ſaved many Manuſcripts from periſhing, which he cauſed to be kept in *Bennet*-College Library, he publiſhed four, *viz. Matth. Weſtminſter*, *Matth. Paris* his Greater Hiſtory, *Aſſer* and *Walſingham*, which (ſaith Mr. *Camden*) becauſe

cal Theorems, and other antient Sciences, repaired daily to *Cambridge*, and having hired a certain BARN, made open Profeſſion of them, and in a ſhort Space drew together a Company of Scholars; but in the ſecond Year of their Coming their Number grew ſo great, as well from out of the whole Country, as the Town, that neither the biggeſt Houſe, Barn, or Church was able to contain them: whereupon theſe Monks, dividing themſelves into ſeveral Places, and taking the Univerſity of *Orleance* for their Pattern, read to their Scholars apart in ſeveral Companies. This Teſtimony (which however ſome abſurdly interpret of the reſtoring of it, [See *James's* MSS. Coll. Vol. 18. pag. 84.]) is ſo plain for the Original of that Univerſity from an unexceptionable Author, who liv'd at that time, that I wonder why the *Cantabrigians* ſhould pretend to aſcend higher, it being ſo very clear that at the Arrival of theſe Monks there was no School for Reception of Scholars, not to inſiſt upon the Catalogue of their Writers, which commenceth much about this time, unleſs we will allow that *Bede* and *Alcuine* were of this Univerſity, which we cannot do, when we know Mr. *Wood* has prov'd that they were of *Oxford* from ſuch Authority as muſt not be deny'd.

1 Apol. lib. II. ſec. 80.

the

the Copies of them are now grown ſcarce, *Claudius Marnius* (the Printer that printed thoſe his *Anglica Normannica* &c. at *Francfurt*) does now publiſh from his Preſs.

35. By thus doing Mr. *Camden* ſeems to acknowledg the Truth of what the Arch-Biſhop alledgeth. And howſoever Mr. *Camden* in his Annals ſpeaks of a MS. Copy of *Aſſer*, containing the late mentioned Paſſage in it, yet (as if he ſet forth his Edition by one of the Arch-Biſhop's Printed Copies onely) he makes no mention of any other Copy than that of the Arch-Biſhop's Edition: before his own Edition he places the Arch-Biſhop's Preface: and his Printer excuſes the not publiſhing of *Aſſer* in *Saxon* Letters (as the Arch-Biſhop's Edition was) becauſe he was not provided of *Saxon* Forms. And yet when upon all theſe Circumſtances we ſhould expect no other, than the Reprinting of the Arch-Biſhop's Edition, (the Copies of which Mr. *Camden* ſaith were grown ſo ſcarce) Mr. *Camden's Aſſer* comes forth of a different Edition, with divers Clauſes not contained in the Arch-Biſhop's Copy, and in particular with this Clauſe of the Diſcord at *Oxford*: and yet not a Word of any Omiſſion, Supply, or Difference of Copies. So as one muſt think that either ſome Falſifier has gone between Mr. *Camden* and his *Francfurt* Printer, and of his own Head inſerted the queſtioned Clauſe, becauſe he found it in his *Britannia* aſcribed to *Aſſer*: or elſe that Mr. *Camden* muſt have failed very much in omitting that which was ſo requiſite he ſhould have done.

36. On the other ſide we muſt acknowledg the Arch-Biſhop has dealt candidly and beyond all Exception: And howſoever Mr. *Camden's* Authority in Letters be deſervedly great, yet in a queſtion of Matter of Fact, *viz.* whether the Arch-Biſhop's Impreſſion were according to the MS. Copy or not? the Credit muſt reſt on the Arch-Biſhop's ſide, both for the great difference of Quality between him and Mr. *Camden*, and alſo for their different Carriage in the Matter.

37. But that which will clearly acquit the Arch-Bishop from the false Imputation of the Apologist, and somewhat impair the Credit of the Clause inserted into Mr. *Camden's* Edition; I (by the Procurement of the most Reverend and most Learned Patron of Letters *James* Lord Arch-Bishop of *Armagh*, and Primate of *Ireland*) have seen an ancient Manuscript *Asser. Men.* conceived by some to be the very Original, by which the Arch-Bishop first published that Author: and probably enough both for the Affinity the Character has with the *Saxon* Letters, and also for the Lines and Marks of red Oaker, with which the Arch-Bishop was wont to note the Manuscripts that he perused. In this Manuscript there were the Clauses, which in Mr. *Camden's* Edition do immediatly precede and follow the Clause of the Discord, and they are both in that Part of the Book, which is of the Ancienter and most undoubted Hand, whereas other Parts are of a later Hand and seem supply'd. But I find not in this MS. the Clause of the Discord, nor any Word of the Matters therein contained, nor any thing at all otherwise than as the Arch-Bishop has published. And though in *Trinity* College in *Cambridge* I find an antient MS. Annals of the Emperors and *Saxon* Kings Actions in *England* from *Cæsar* to *Edward the Elder's* time, the Author of which so punctually follows *Asser Menevensis*, as that he relates divers Passages of K. *Ælfred's* time in the words of *Asser Men.* not omitting nor changing his words of personal Relation, *viz. Domino meo: Audivi: Audivimus, &c.* yet in all that he says of *Ælfred* I find no mention of the Discord at *Oxford*, nor of the Building of *Winchester* Monastery, or any thing contained in the questioned Clause. So that now the Arch-Bishop's Edition being justified by Manuscripts agreeing with it, it rests that the Clause of Discord in the *Francfurt* Edition be also justified by Discovery of some MS. warranting it: or else the Suspect of varying from the Original, formerly imputed to the Arch-Bishop's *Asser*, will fall upon the *Francfurt* Edition.

38. But

38. But because we cannot tell whether we shall ever find such a Manuscript, therefore turning to the Consideration of the Matter it self, contained in the Clause in question, it is not a little to be wondered that *Asser* should write a Passage so much to his own Imputation, as to make himself take notice of *Ælfred's* Building of a Monastery at *Winchester*, and yet when to do *Ælfred* Honour he takes upon him to relate his Works of Piety and Devotion, he does it only in these words: *inter cetera diuturna & nocturna bona, quibus assidue & maxime studebat, duo construere imperavit monasteria; unum monachorum, in loco qui dicitur Æthelingey &c. aliud quoque monasterium juxta orientalem partem* Shefteburg, &c. He built two Monasteries (saith he) one for Monks at *Æthelingey*, and another for Nuns at *Shaftesbury*, and never remembers himself of the Monastery of *Winchester* at all, 'till accidentally, while he is telling of another Matter, he bolts it out as it were at unawares. Shall I tell you what may be the Cause that *Asser* spake nothing of *Winchester* Abbey in the first Place? (For I would gladly discharge him of the Guilt of such an Omission), the truth is he lived not to see the Foundation of it, not by divers years. For (as we have shewn) the Founding of *Winchester* New-Abbey, was the last of the King's Works of that Kind, even about the time of his Death. And *Asser* (as appeareth by *Malmsbury* and *Sauil*) died long before. After *Asser's* Death [1] *Sigellinus* (who succeeded *Asser* in the Bishoprick of *Sherburn*) was by *Ælfred* sent to St. *Thomas* in the *Indies*, and thence returned also before *Ælfred's* Death. So as *Asser* might much better have written the Voyage of his Successor to the *Indies*, than *Grimbald's* Betaking him to the New-Monastery at *Winchester*.

39. By this it appears of what Repute the Clause so much contended for is: and as new Pieces never suit handsomely in an old Garment, so that Insertion not squaring well with other Circumstances, discovers it

1 Alias *Swithelmus*.

ſelf to have been a Patch of a late hand. It tells of a great Diſſention at *Oxford* between *Grimbald* and the old Scholars, whenas there is not in *Aſſer* any foregoing Mention of *Ælfred's* Founding of any Schools there, nor of *Grimbald's* Lecturing in them; yet thoſe are Paſſages ſo material to *Aſſer's* ſubject, as that it cannot be thought he would have omitted them, if they had been done in his time. Beſides the Clauſe lays the Diſcord to have been in the year 886, and that was the ſame troubleſome Year in which *Ælfred* had ſo much to do by Siege and ſtrong Aſſault to recover *London* out of the Hands of the *Danes*: and when his Affairs were ſo unſettled, that as yet he was neither univerſally receiv'd, neither was there an intire Return of his ſcattered and diſperſed Subjects unto him, till (after the winning of *London*) the Succeſs of the King's Affairs gave them Aſſurance of their future Safety under him. And it requires a ſtrong Faith to believe that the King before that time ſet upon the Founding of an Univerſity eſpecially at *Oxford*, which was in *Mercia* ſo near the ſettling of the North and Eaſtern *Danes*.

40. The Relation does not better ſquare with the Time of *Grimbald's* Coming over, which was (ſaith *Hyde* Book) in the year 885. For it is admitted by all that *Grimbald* at his firſt Coming was a good while detained by *Ælfred* at Court for his own Inſtruction before he was ſent to *Oxford*, and the Univerſity (ſaith *Wincheſter* Book, cited by Mr. *Camden*,) was begun in the ſecond year of *Grimbald's* Coming over. Yet this Clauſe makes *Grimbald* to have been the Cauſe of a publick Diſcord at *Oxford*, that brake out in the year 886. but had been a breeding three years before, and that was a year before the Founding of the Univerſity, and two years before *Grimbald's* coming over. And it is both ſtrange and contradictory that *Grimbald* ſhould have ſo much and ſo haſty a love to *Oxford* as to build St. *Peter's* Church there *de ſaxo ſumma cura perpolito*, (as the Clauſe ſays he did) whenas he was at firſt entertained with ſo much Affront and Diſcontent, and

that

that fiercely profecuted with ſo much Spleen and Rancour, that he was fain within three years to give over the Univerſity and go to *Winchester*.

41. But that which gave Boldneſs (as I ſuppoſe) to the Contriver of this Paſſage, and led him into an Errour was this. *Aſſer Menevenſis* his Collection of the Life and Acts of *Alfred* is concluded with the Death of *Alfred*, in the year 900. And there being two ſeveral *Aſſers*, the latter of them (which in *Edward the Elder's* Time was a Biſhop likewiſe) lived it ſeems to the year 909. Now the Contriver of the inſerted Paſſage taking both theſe for one, and thinking that *Aſſer Menevenſis* ſurvived to the year 909. made no queſtion but he might make him tell of any thing done in *Alfred's* life time, whereas indeed *Aſſer Menevenſis* writ while the King was yet living, dedicated his Book unto him, and died long before him. Afterwards *Hen. Huntington*, or ſome other out of him, ſupplyed the Addition of *Alfred's* Death in the year 900. unto *Aſſer's* Story, and that we ſee, both by *Hen. Huntington's* very words of Concluſion, by his Verſes placed at the End of *Aſſer's* Story, by his Name quoted in the Margin, and alſo by the Leiger Book of *Hyde-Abbey* in Sir *Cb. H.* hands.

42. And if we lay together other Circumſtances already appearing, with what likelyhood can we imagin that *Alfred* (a Prince ſo much lamenting the Decay of Letters in his Country and in ſo notable a way undertaking the Replanting of them) ſhould ſuffer that great and much affected Work of his to receive Prejudice by the Oppoſition of a few Scholars of no Regard; and then taking a Journey in Perſon to quiet the Difference, ſhould yet leave the matter ſo unſettled, as that his own Profeſſors (far fetched and hardly procured) ſhould, by the Vexation of meaner Scholars, be forced to give over the Service that he had there placed them for? Surely it ſuited not with the reſt of the King's Ways and Actions, who (though otherwiſe mild) was yet ſevere and ſtrict in requiring Obſervance of the Things which he had once ordered.

43. Nei-

43. Neither does *Jo. Ross* (whom the Apology much cites and honours) do this Tale of Discord between *Grimbald* and the *Oxford* Scholars any Credit. For as he is there cited, he tells in how great a manner Learning was by *Grimbald* restored in the Land, (which if his Form of Teaching had been rejected, especially so soon as the questioned Clause alledges, it could not have been effected by him) and afterward [1] *in sua senili ætate* (saith *Ross*) *studio relicto adiit* Wintoniam. He left indeed the University and went to *Winchester*; but not by reason of any Discord, but because he was grown old, and that I trow was not the next Year after his first coming over. For he lived [illegible] Years after that and dyed in the Year [903. the 8th of the Ides of *July*.]

44. One might also ask where those old Scholars were, when *Ælfred* came to the Crown, who being so able to defend the antient Institutions of the supposed University, were not in the way to do the King Service, when, for want of Scholars, he was fain to send abroad? As for those (besides that we find not any Mention of their Help) we find that if any such there were, they were but easy Scholars. For the King himself tells [2] us that at his Coming to the Crown there were but very few on this side *Humber* that were able to translate a *Latin* Epistle.

45. It would be so hard a Matter to answer all Objections, and reconcile all Incoherences, that necessarily follow the Maintaining of the questioned Clause, as that if now there were an antient Manuscript extant to authorise it, that Manuscript would as much stand in need of some other Record to make it Authentick, as supply the need that the questioned Clause now stands in. Seeing therefore that the Authorities which Mr. *Camden* has in this particular followed do upon Examination fall out so wind-shaken and crasy, we cannot attribute so much to what he delivers upon their Warrant, as we should to what he delivered upon his

1 Apol. lib. II. sec. 172. 2 In Præf. ad Past. *Greg.*

own

own Judgment or Opinion. Therefore holding my ſelf free from claſhing with Mr. *Camden's* Authority in this Matter, I ſecurely preſume that none of the Paſſages in his *Britannia* alledged by the Apology do maintain either School or Academy of Letters at *Oxford* before *Ælfred's* time. But to draw to an End, let all Arguments of Conjecture, of Preſumption, or of what nature ſoever be laid aſide, and let us but conſider what it is that the Authorities themſelves produced by the Apology do deliver in proof that *Ælfred* did not found, but reſtore the Univerſity of *Oxford*. For 'till the Apology the contrary was believed.

46. And firſt of all is the Book of *Winchester*, which though we have already mentioned as cited by Mr. *Camden*, yet ſeeing it containeth Matter otherwiſe pertinent to the Knowledge of the King's work, and is alſo one of the Authorities which the Apology voucheth for proof that *Ælfred* did but reſtore the Univerſity, it is neceſſary we ſhould ſet it down according to the whole Contents there.

47. *Anno Dominicæ Incarnationis* 886. *anno* 2°. *adventus Sancti* Grimbaldi *in* Angliam, *incepta eſt Univerſitas* Oxoniæ, *primitus in eadem regentibus, ac in Schola Theologiæ legentibus, Sancto* Neoto *Abbate, necnon in Theologiæ doctore egregio, & Sancto* Grimbaldo, *ſacræ paginæ ſuaviſſimæ dulcedinis excellentiſſimo Profeſſore: in Grammatica vero & Rhetorica regente* Aſſerio *Monacho, & in arte literatoria Viro eruditiſſimo: in Dialectica vero, & Muſica, & Ariſtmetica, legente* Joanne *Monacho* Menevenſis *Eccleſiæ: in Geometria & Aſtronomia docente* Joanne *Monacho, & Collega Sancti* Grimbaldi, *Viro acutiſſimi ingenii & undecunque doctiſſimo: præſente Glorioſiſſimo & invictiſſ. Rege* Alfredo, *cujus in omni ore, quaſi mel, indulcabitur memoria.* *Thus the Annals of Winchester.*

48. Next is cited by the Apology [1] *Ranulf. Higden* lib. 6°. in theſe words: Aluredus *ſcholas variarum artium apud* Oxoniam *primus inſtituit.*

[1] Lib. II. Sect. 176.

49. *Nicho-*

49. *Nicholas Harpesfeld*, there also cited, saith: *omnium igitur bonarum disciplinarum quasi officinam quandam apud* Vadum Ifidis, *i. e.* Oxoniense *oppidum constituit.*

50. Also an Anonymous, there cited out of *Oxford* Library, delivers, Ælfred *scholas publicas apud* Oxonium *instituisse.*

51. The next that to that purpose is there [1] cited is *Malmsbury* thus: *consilio namque* Neoti *Abbatis scholas publicas variarum Artium apud* Oxonium *primus instituit* Aluredus.

52. In the Section 192. is cited a *Polychronicon* in *Baliol* College Library, which beginneth: *Ab Historico namque contextu* &c. And that speaking of *Alured* saith thus: *Universitatem* Oxoniæ *primus fundavit.*

53. In the 198. Section *Bale* is cited, that, having related something out of *Capgrave* concerning *Ælfred's* Unction, he added: *Illi igitur primo ab ejus Ecclesiæ patribus est permissum ut Literarum fundaret Academiam* &c.

54. In the 213. Section, speaking of *University*-College, the Apology confesseth that the Fellows of that College acknowledg that *Ælfred* was their Founder. And truly though what may be gathered of that be not so manifest, as what the other Authorities say, yet speaks it one and the same thing with them. For without difficult he that was first Founder of *University*-College, was also Founder of the University it self. And this we shall the easier apprehend, if we hear *John Ross*, as he is cited [2] in the Apology, who in the Apologiser's Judgment is *Historiæ utriusque Universitatis æstimator omnium æquissimus.*

55. *Sancto* Neoto *instigante* (saith *Ross* of King Ælfred) *Scholas publicas variarum Artium apud* Oxoniam *instituit.* And a little after: *in prima dictæ Universitatis fundatione* (saith he) *ipse nobilis Rex* Aluredus *infra Urbis* Oxon. *mœnia Doctores in Grammatica, Arti-*

1. Ap. lib. II. Sect. 179. 2 Lib. I. sect. 2. Lib. II. sect. 172.

bus,

bus, & Theologia, tribus locis, in nomine S. Trinitatis, *ex suis sumptibus instituit. In quarum una viginti sex Grammaticorum omnibus necessariis ipsam Aulam dotavit, & eam, propter scientiæ inferioritatem,* Parvam Aulam Universitatis *appellari decrevit; & sic in diebus meis appellata est. Aliam Aulam in sumptibus necessariis pro Dialecticis seu Philosophis 26 abundanter construxit; & hanc* Aulam Minorem Universitatis *appellari præcepit. Tertiam* Aulam Magnam *pro 26 Theologis appellans, sacræ Scripturæ Studium daturis ordinavit, quibus & expensas sufficientes abundanter exhibuit. Multæ aliæ præter has in brevi Aulæ singularum facultatum à Burgensibus Urbis & Comprovincialium circumjacentium, deinde à remotioribus Provinciis, sunt exortæ, licet non de Regiis expensis, sed Regis gratioso exemplo creverunt.*

56. By this we may see, that *Ælfred* was the First Founder of the very University it self, *First*, by his own Act, in the three Halls that he built; which being the first only Colleges that the University can truly be said to have had at that time, bear name with Relation to the University, viz. *The Greater*, *Lesser* and *Little-Hall of the University*; as if beside them there were no other. So that *Ælfred* was not only Founder of the University, but first Author also of the Name *University* that ever we read used in that sense. *Secondly*, he was by Example, Founder of all that was after built in Imitation of his Work. And we may judge that when (by his Example) other Halls and Schools were after built by others, and, according to the Use of later times, at last incorporate into Societies by several Names of Halls or Colleges, under the Government of several Heads or Masters, these three first Halls being likewise founded into one College did still, in Memory of what they were at first, retain the Name of *University-College*, because they alone had once been all the University. As for that Hall in *Oxford*, which the Author to the Apology calls *Aula Paulina*, and which he saith he remembers that he hath seen in Ancient Writings that it was founded

by

by *Paulinus* first Arch-Bishop of *York* long before *Alfred's* Time; it may easily enough be believed, that the Author may have seen some Writings, and those no very late ones, in which (as he saith) it was affirmed, that *Aula Paulina* was founded by *Paulinus* the first Arch-Bishop of *York*, but it is also to be believed that those Writings may have more credit upon Hear-say, than they should upon View: and the rather because we know that *Aula Paulina* is not *Paulinus his Hall*, but *Paul's Hall*. It must have been *Aula Pauliniana* to have expressed that it was *Paulinus his Hall*.

57. The Apology further citeth [1] the Letters of the University it self to *Humphry* Duke of *Gloucester*, where they profess unto him, *quod citra felicissimæ memoriæ* Aluredum *Regem, hujus almæ Universitatis fundatorem, nemo unquam tantum beneficium contulerit.*

58. *Lastly* it citeth [2] the Ancient Bedells Books there, that in them it is said thus: *Ex antiqua consuetudine hujus almæ Universitatis in vigilia sancti Martini, orandum est in scholis pro benefactoribus tam vivis quam defunctis, & pro animabus omnium benefactorum, præsertim pro anima* Aluredi *Regis hujus almæ Universitatis primi fundatoris.* And I may add as a Corollary that in a fair Window in St. *Marie's* Church, where both the Story and the Glory of the Universitie's Foundation by *Alfred* was beautifully set forth, both in Picture and Verses, the Verse that tells the Mind of that Part of the Historical Imagery, which concerns the Foundation, is thus:

Angelus hic studium jussit ut incipiat.

And in another Place is a Verse *instar omnium*, saith the Apology [3],

Oxonii *flores Alfred fert iste priores.*

59. I dare scarcely own my Senses, when in other Mens Actions I consider how strongly the first Possession of a Thing (especially received with Partiality

1 Lib. II. sect. 218. 2 Lib. II. sect. 219. 3 Ibid. 222.

and

and Affection) sways the Judgment of a Man. I could not have believed that at this Distance of Time, there could so much have been made appear for *Alfred's* Founding of the University; nor can I think it needfull to press the one half of it. And yet so fixed are the Impressions, the Story of *Oxford*, and the Supposititious Fragment of *Asser* have made, as that he that defends the Antiquity of *Oxford* reads nothing in all these Authorities, but that *Alfred* was only the Restorer of the University. Let the Reader judge. For me, I take what is alledged to be warrant enough for an Historian to write *Alfred first Founder of the University of* Oxford, and so without difficult I shall stile him.

The Controversy betwixt the two Universities.

So I am not ignorant that while, according to my Duty, I maintain the King's Right in the Foundership, I cast my self upon the Common Controversy between the two Universities for Priority; which how trivial soever in it self, yet in regard of the Number and Affections of those that are interessed in it is too great for me to make a Party in. Besides having been of *Trinity*-College in *Cambridge*, I would not be thought to have less Affection to my Foster-Mother's Right, than the Author to the Apology, Mr. *Camden*, *Leland*, and other *Oxford* Men have shewn for *Oxford*. And for both these Reasons holding my self no indifferent Arbiter between the two Pretenders, I should have been glad I could have passed by the Controversy untouched on. But seeing I am by Constraint already fallen upon it, and that, if I had voluntarily entered it, my Adversaries Example would yet have justified me, I will to what I have already said add what I received from one well versed in Matters of Antiquity, and so return again unto my former Argument; well hoping the whilst that if to any present Distast of the Universicy I overthrow the ill-founded Opinion of their Antiquity before *Alfred's* Time, I shall at least seem to have made some Kind of Recompence, not only in making certain who was their true Founder, but also in endeavouring

ing) (as far as my Ability at ſo much Diſtance and Diſadvantage may effect) to make appear unto the World the great Honour of that Illuſtrious and Matchleſs Prince, from whom they derive Original, and whom we cannot think they would have aſpired beyond, had they not been Sharers in the common Misfortune of the Kingdom to have loſt the Knowledg of his unparalelled Worth. Nor is it a ſmall Inſtance of Glory (if that be a thing ſo much affected) for the Univerſity henceforth to boaſt one Common Founder and Original with this our *Engliſh* Monarchy.

61. "The apparent Original of both our Univerſities (ſaid that Antiquary) is certain by our beſt Hiſtorians, of *Cambridge* by *Sigebert*, of *Oxford* by *Alfred*. What they ſeek to deduce further is, like the Beginnings of Nations, ſupported with Fables and Suſpicious Authorities, wherein they ſeem to cavil for Priority of Conception, when as their Births are both apparent. The Truth is the Gentry divided in Alliance between them will never agree the Controverſy; but if we will hear Parties not intereſſed, *Polidore Vergil* the *Italian* gives the Priority to *Cambridge*, and *Mindendorp*, a Learned *German*, who in 3 Books with great Judgment and Induſtry has written of all the Univerſities in the World, (and whom I remember the Apology mentioneth, though the Author liſted not to publiſh his Opinion) he (ſaid the Antiquary) being a little in a maze, to ſee ſuch Digladiating

1 In the Publick Library at *Oxford*, amongſt Archbiſhop *Laud's* Books, is a MS. (num. E. 3.) written after the time of *Hen.* VI. containing a Genealogical Hiſtory of the Kings of *England*, (which I believe was done by a *Cambridge* Man,) in which (f. 10. b.) are these Words: Cantabrigia *erat fundata à* Cantabro *duce ante incarnationis annis* 394. *& à philoſophis inhabitata. Et ſic* Cantabrigia *erat ante Univerſitatem* Oxon. *per mille nongentos vigini & novem annos* [*lege* mille ducentos ſexaginta & ſeptem annos.] In this Tract there is not the leaſt mention of *Sigebert's* being Founder: ſo that it ſeems not only Sir *Simonds D'ewes*, [in his *Speech touching the Antiquity of* Cambridge, pr. *Lond.* 1642. 4to.] but the reſt of the *Cantabrigians* are at a great Loſs to make up the Story; ſome pitching upon *Cantaber*, others upon *Sigebert*: but both equally in the wrong.

"between

"between our Universities for their Antiquity, being "loth to do either any wrong, bestows the pains of "perusing and examining what they do produce on ei- "ther side, *visisque & intellectis*, he first blames them, "that worthy Men should contend about a trivial Mat- "ter, and that beyond Terms of Modesty. Then he "wisheth them to strive to excell one another in true "Religion, Wisdom, Arts, and Learning, in the Mode- "sty, Worth and Proficience of their Scholars; to con- "temn those outward Things Antiquity, Buildings, "Beauty of Colleges, Multitude of Scholars, Worth of "Founders, and the like; all which (said he) more be- "long to the Ornament of the Dead, than the Praise "of the Living. And that done *absque ullo affectu* (those "are *Mindendorp's* own Words) he delivers his sentence "thus: *Utramque hanc Academiam veterem quidem at- "que florentem reperio*; Cantabrigiensis *tamen* (*quan- "tum hactenus deprehendere licuit*) *tempore* [1] *prior & "antiquior est. Ideoque ab ea principium ducam.* and "so proceedeth first in the Description of the University "of *Cambridge*.

62. "Yet is it not to be denyed (said the Antiquary) "that, after their Foundations, *Oxford* was for many "Ages after the more Eminent. For though it were "sometimes a little afflicted by the Pagan *Danes*, yet "was

1 The Apology lib. I. sec. 177. cites an incertain Author, which he discredits not by any just Exception, but only saith he is deceived. The Author's words are: Oxonii *gymnasium instituit* Aluredus, *hortante* Neoto *viro sanctiss. unde à tempore quo* Cantabrigia *sub* Sigberto *Rege Oriental. &* Oxonium *sub* Aluredo *condita sunt, semper fuere viri in* Angl. doctiss. — Cantabrigiæ *Gymnasium præcessit* Oxonio *annis* 265. *nam* Sigebertus *anno Christi* 630 Cantabrigiam *erexit.* Et Aluredus Oxonium *anno Christi* 895. And by and by he cites Jo. Rosa speaking out of the Authority of *The. Rudburn*, and from the old Table and Chronicle of *Hyde* Abbey (both which he saw) thus: *Ad claritatem augmentand.* (saith he of *Edw. the Elder*) *sicut pater suus* (which was Ælfred) Oxoniam, *sic ipse ab antiquo cum cæteris studiis generalibus suspensam, desolatam, & destructam* Cantabrigiam, *iterum ad pristinam gloriam erexit, necnon ibi aulas studentium & doctorum &c.* —— *Ab* Oxonia *namque Universitate, quam pater suus nobilis rex erexerat &c.* Also *Edw. Higgons* in his Geography, MS. lib. 6. cap. 8. setting forth the

" was it always under the Protection of Potent *Chriſtian* " Kings, that loved and cheriſhed Learning, whereas " *Cambridge*, being ſeated more in the *Danes* way, ex- " poſed to their Fury and Spoil, and utterly ruined by " them, continued ſo for divers Years under the Ty- " ranny of that barbarous People, who contemned Lite- " rature, and all Civility; whereupon *Oxford*, getting the " Start, and the Weſtern Parts of *England*, that apply " themſelves to *Oxford*, abounding in Corporations, and " Burgeſſes of Parliament, far beyond the Eaſtern Parts, " that make their Addreſs to *Cambridge*, the Parliaments " upon all Occaſions have commonly preferred *Oxford* " before the other, and from them both Natives and For- "reigners have generally given *Oxford* the Preheminence.

63. "But (ſaid the Antiquary) it were good the " Univerſity Men on both Sides would remember, that " they eat the Oblations, which other Mens Devotions " have preſented God withal, that in the mean while " they have their Proviſions and Maintenance upon ac- " count, that therefore they ſhould follow *Mindendorp's* " Advice, and, laying aſide other Emulations, by all " good Means provoke one another in Unity to ſeek the " Advancement of ſincere Religion, of Learning, and of " Civility, the only true End of thoſe their Glorious " Foundations, that ſo doing they may the ſafelier glo- " ry while they manifeſt themſelves lawfully and with " good Right to poſſeſs the things they glory in. That " laſtly (to the great Benefit of the Church and Com- " mon-Wealth) they ſhall ſo perform the pious Wills " of them, whoſe Gifts they boaſt of, and God ſhall be

---

the Dignity of *Oxford* ſaith: *certat nominis celebritate cum hoc* Oxonienſi *Gymnaſio Academia* Cantabr. *quæ etſi Scholaſticorum numero & cœnobio- rum magnificentia impar ſit, bonarum tamen artium feracitate nequaquam ſed antiquitate longe præſtat. Nam* Oxonienſe *ſtudium* Aluredus *circi- ter annum ſalutis* DCCCXCV. *illam vero* Sigebertus *circiter an. ſal.* DCXXX. *fundavit.* Laſtly Dr. *Powel* (who was an *Oxford* man) in his Hiſtory of *Wales* ſaith that *Ælfred* founded and erected *Oxford*, which and many more are expreſs Authorities in the point, where- as I find not any where an Authority for *Oxford*, but only by Im- plication and Inference. SPELMAN.

it [illegible]

"glorified in the Profeſſors, much more than he has "been in the Founders". I now return again unto our preſent Purpoſe.

64. I have already partly ſhewed what was at firſt the Foundation of the Univerſity of *Oxford*, namely, that it was a Foundation of three diſtinct Halls [1], or Schools, by the Names of the *Great Hall of the Univerſity*, the *Leſſer Hall of the Univerſity*, and the *Little Hall of the Univerſity*. For ſo (ſaith *Roſs*) *Alfred* willed they ſhould be named. And theſe as ſeems by him likewiſe were in ſeveral Places of the City, the *Great* and *Little Halls* near the Eaſt Gate thereof, and the *Leſſer* toward the Walls on the Northſide.

65. As the Halls were three, and founded in the Name of the Holy Trinity, ſo was the Diſtribution of the Sciences profeſſed in them threefold: to wit, *Grammar*, *Arts*, and *Divinity*. In the *Little Hall* was *Grammar* only taught, and there was Entertainment for 26 Scholars. In the *Leſſer Hall* was taught *Logick*, *Muſick*, *Arithmetick*, *Geometry* and *Aſtronomy*. And there was likewiſe Entertainment for 26 Scholars more. In the *Great Hall* was nothing read but Divinity only, and there was Entertainment for 26 Divines. The firſt Divinity Profeſſors were St. *Neods* and St. *Grimbald*. The firſt Reader in *Logick*, *Muſick*, and *Arithmetick*, was *John* a Monk of St. *David's*. The firſt Reader in *Geometry*, and *Aſtronomy* was *John* the Monk, that was St. *Grimbild's* Collegue. And *Aſſer* the Monk was Reader in *Grammar* and *Rhetorick* [2]. The manner of the Foundation.

66. Concerning the Perſons Nominated to have been the Profeſſors in the Univerſity, we muſt note, that, if we underſtand by St. *Neods* and *Aſſer*, the men moſt generally known by thoſe Names, we run upon great Difficulties. For as for St. *Neods* the famous Abbot, though he firſt ſet the King upon the way of Erecting

1. Beſides theſe Halls there were preſently after founded divers others by ſeveral of the Nobility, who followed the King's Example. See Mr. *Leland's* MS. inter Godd. in Bibl. *Bodl.* NE. F. 11. 19. & 29.

2. *Annales Wigorn.*

Schools, yet could he be none of the Profeſſors: for he lived not beyond the year 883, as appeareth both by *Bale*, and alſo by *Aſſer Menevenſis*, who in the year 884. affirms his Body then reſted in St. *Guerir's* Church in *Cornwal*, and ever ſpeaketh of him as of one dead. Nor is it probable that an Abbot or a Biſhop ſhould leave their proper Charges to be ordinary Readers in Schools; eſpecially for a Biſhop to become a Reader of *Grammar*. But (beſides that we have already ſhewn, that it was not, nor could not be *Aſſer* the Biſhop) the truth is, *Wincheſter* Book ſaith no more, but that *Aſſer* a Monk read *Grammar* there; it was the Miſtake of others that took him to be the Biſhop. And whereas the ſame Book (cited by the Apology) ſaith *legentibus Sancto* Neoto *Abbate*, we muſt examin whether (if the Book be ſo) it be not (as many Abbey Books be) a late renewed Book, in which the Writer for Illuſtration ſupplying ſome things according to his own Apprehenſion, in things done long before his Time, miſtook and ſet down a Falſhood for an Illuſtration. It ſeemeth plainly there were two of each Name, and that the Second Perſon of either Name [1] were the Readers.

The Endowment of the Univerſity.

67. The Schools being founded, were not endowed with Poſſeſſions. For as the Times then were, that had been but to little purpoſe; but the King, better conſidering the Convenience, both of them, and of the Monaſteries which he had built, did (beſide the Lands that he gave for Accommodation of their Seats) aſſign them Annual Stipends for their Conſtant Maintenance. And his Schools had allotted to them for their Support, a full eighth Part of his whole Annual Revenue. And their Maintenance (it ſeemeth) continued [2] in that ſort until the Coming in of the *Normans*.

68. The

1 I grant there were two *Aſſers*, but *Aſſer Menevenſis* was Profeſſor, dying not 'till 909, as is ſhew'd above. But for *Neot* we cannot gather either from *Aſſer*, or any other antient Author, when he died.

2 In a MS. Paper of good note in *Univerſity Coll. Treaſury* I find expreſs mention that it contin'd to the time of *William the Conquerour*, who

68. The Work at last being wholly perfected, the Schools built, stored with Scholars and furnished with Professors in all Sciences and Faculties, the King himself, whose Memory (saith *Hyde* Annals) shall be as sweet as hony in every Man's Mouth, attended with his Nobles in great Solemnity graced the first Lectures there with his own Presence and Audience, having never ceased till he had seen his Work brought unto the full Perfection.

69. This now may suffice for a Tast of the King's Magnificence, both in those things that concern the Security and Establishment of the State, as also in those that tend to the Felicity and Better Being of the People.

70. As for the King's Hand it never ceased, neither was his Spirit at any time at a stand, but as it travelled in these Works of publick Good, so did it also in those that particularly concerned the Crown and Regal Dignity, and not only that, but his own private also. Therefore he new built and inlarged the King's Houses or Palaces Royal, proportioning them unto the other Augmentation of his Estate, in which he had not only an Eye to make them of more Receipt than formerly, but as in all his other Works he exceeded the Fashion of his Ancestors, both in the Manner and in the Materials, so in these also he was very choice, and for the more Decency often changed the old Situations, built much with Stone, (which was then unusual) beautified them with Carving and Guilding, and made them more Stately than 'till that time had been known in *England*. Also after the same Manner he did by way of Husbanding, and Improving his private, repair and build the *Villæ Regales*, the Mannors and Demeasnes of the Crown, altering and contriving them both for a more commodious and more decent Habitation.

The King builds and repairs the King's Palaces.

As also the Farmes and Mannor Houses.

---

who withdrew the Exhibitions that had 'till that time been made out of the King's *Exchequer*: tho' in Mr. *Leland's* MSS. Collections (in Bibl. *Bodl.* NE. F. 11. 18. f. 29. a.) 'tis said that King *Harold* depriv'd these Schools of their Revenue, and totally destroy'd the two lesser of these Halls.

Exact in ordering his Works.

71. And while thus the King was infinite in his Works his Workmen grew innumerable, and necessarily put him to advise by Order and good Distribution to dispose of the manner of their Working, (in which he was very exact.) The Number of them (whereby we might judge of the Greatness of his Works) appeareth not, only *Florentius* saith they were *numero pene infinito*, and for their Quality they were *in omni serreno ædificio edocti*. Also we find that in the Distribution of the King's Revenues, they had a full sixth Part of his whole Year's Income allotted to them, with which if we consider that in those Times they had not board Wages, but did eat and drink of the King's Allowance, the Proportion, that was issued for their Wages, argues a great and magnificent Imployment for them.

The Ordering his Houshold.

72. His Houshold and Domestick Attendance being very greatly also increased, he served himself in a way of somewhat an extraordinary Kind, and which leaves a Note, either of the Multitude of those which were his Menial Servants, or else of the Quality of them, or at least of the little Choice that was then in the Land of loose and independent Men, such as being otherwise unengaged were free to bestow themselves in any Course of Employment.

73. He having (it seems) observed the Course that *Solomon* took in preparing Timber at *Lebanon* for the Temple, where Thirty Thousand assigned to the Work went by ten Thousand at a time, wrought there a Month, and then Returning, stayed two Months at home until their Turn in the fourth Month came about again. He applying this to his own Occasions, ordained the like Course in his Attendance, making a Triplicate thereof, insomuch that he had a Threefold Shift of all Domestick Officers, each of which were by themselves under the Command of a several *Major Domo*, or Master of the Houshold, who coming with his Servants under his Charge to wait at Court, stayed there a Month, and then returning home were supplyed by the second Ternary, and they again by the third, until the

the Course coming about, the first of them (after two Months Recess at home) did with the Quarter renew their Monthly Service at the Court.

74. I should conjecture that the King for his more Honourable Attendance took this Course in Point of Royalty and State, there being (as it then stood with the State) very few Men of Quality fit to stand before a King, who by their Fortunes or Dependency were not otherwhere besides engaged; neither was there in those times any great Assurance to be had of any Man unless he were one of such Condition, whose Service when the King was fain to use one Month in the Quarter, it was necessary for the Common-wealth, that he should remit them the other two Months unto their own Occasions. Neither used he this Course with some of his Officers only (as there are those that understand it to have been a Course taken only with those of his Guard) but with all his whole Attendance; neither used he it for a time only, but for his whole Life, as *Ingulfus* expressly tells [1] us: and I little doubt, but that the Use at Court at this Day, of Officers Quarter-Wayters, had the first Beginning even from this Invention of the King's. Quarter-wayters.

75. Among the rest of his Attendants he is noted (*Salomon* like) to have provided himself of Musitians, not common, or such as knew but the Practick Part, but Men skilful in the Art it self, whose Skill and Service yet further improved, with his own Instruction, and so ordered the Manner of their Service, as best befitted the Royalty of a King. Musitians.

76. He also stored himself with the Instruments of Princely Recreations and Sports, with Falconers and Huntsmen of every Kind. The *Saxons* (from their *German* Ancestors) holding Hunting a most generous and laudable Education of youth, as that which inured them to Hardiness, made them active, patient of La- Falconers, Huntsmen, &c.

1 Hac revolutione servorum suorum totiusque familiæ suæ rotatione usus est omni tempore vitæ suæ. *Ingulf.*

bour, and acquainted with Danger, their Hunting being chiefly of Wild and noxious Beasts. And the King himself having from his Youth in this kind been noted to excel, out of his own Experience so ordered the Use and Manner of those Sports, as that even in them the Provisions and Order gave a note of State and of Magnificence.

Artisans, Jewellers, *&c.*

77. Among other his Princely Curiosities he had upon the Return of the Shipping, which he sent to St. *Thomas* in the *Indies*, many Eastern Rarities, Odors, Balms, and Precious Stones brought unto him, the Use of which (being then unknown in this Land) he seemeth to have first set on foot here, seeking out Artists and Curious Artificers, Goldsmiths and Jewelers for the Working of them: and such were the Defects of those Times, and so excelling was the Faculty of the King in every thing he turned his Hand unto, as that even in those Works also the Artificers themselves and their Arts received Improvement from his Invention and Direction, while they followed his Genius, and Manufactured that that he designed to them. The use of all which he converted to the adorning and setting forth of the Regal Dignity.

78. I know not why we may not conjecture that the King (being by the Return of his *East-Indie* Ship stored with many Eastern Stones, and by his especial Industry upon that Occasion provided also of Work-men) probably fell upon the Composing of an Imperial[1] Crown, which though not of the Form, that by way of Distinction we at this day call Imperial, yet was it of a more August and Imperial Form than had been formerly in Use in this Kingdom. For in the arched Room in the Cloisters of *Westminster*-Abbey, where

1 This does not appear from any Author but *Harpsfield*; nor from his Coyns, in which his Head is circled with a simple Diadem after the common and ancientest Fashion, in other Countries. And we do not find in any *English-Saxon* Coyn one Instance of any *Imperial* Crown 'till *Edward the Confessor*, who has a Crown much like that of the Eastern Emperors. See *Selden's Titles of Honour*: also Note above ad hunc lib. §. 8.

the

the ancient *Regalia* of this Kingdom are kept, upon a Box (which is the Cabinet to the ancientest Crown) there is (as I am informed) an Inscription to this purpose: *Hæc est principalior Corona cum qua coronabantur Reges* Ælfredus, Edwardus, *&c.* And the Crown (which to this purpose were worth the Observing) is of a very ancient Work, with Flowers adorned with Stones of somewhat a plain Setting. This by the Inscription appearing to have been the Crown of *Ælfred* and his Successors, is to be supposed to have been made by him, and that when he was become Universal King of the *Heptarchy*. In which respect, and for the Value of the Jewels, (then and long after very rare in these Parts) as also for the Venerable Esteem which (for the Original and Author) succeeding Ages have ever had of it, it seems deservedly to be accounted the most principal Crown.

Confers the Order of Knighthood.

79. And that we may guess that howsoever things appear not sufficiently to us, yet the King omitted nothing that might seem rightly incident to the Quality of a great and absolute Monarch, we find, that whencesoever he had the Idea of the Ceremony, he in a very solemn manner conferred the order of Knighthood; wherein we need not doubt but that he will appear to be the first and Author to our *English* Monarchs for the Conferring of it. The Person upon whom only we have Instance was his Grandchild *Athelstan*, Son of his Son *Edward*, and but a youth: with whose Spirit, Lovely Countenance, and Behaviour he was so much taken as that in a kind of Prophetical Spirit he blessed him for King, after his Father *Edward*, and then Knighted him by giving him a skarlet Coat, a Belt set with precious Stones, and a *Saxon* Sword in a Golden Scabbard. Nor did *Athelstan* frustrate the Honour done him, but succeeding *Edward* in the Crown, he so well continued the Prosecution of his Grandfather's Virtue, (whom in Countenance also he is said to have much resembled) as that he exceeded

1 *Malm. de Gest. Reg. Angl.* lib. II.

both

both Father and Grandfather in the External Glory of his Kingdom.

80. And now have we taken a view of all that we find surviving of the Publick Works and Actions of the King, which howsoever imperfect, and at the fullest scanted by the Authors themselves in their short way of Relation, and some of them only touch't on in the by, or but accidentally, yet are they sufficient to Discover unto us the Latitude of the King's Spirit and Genius truly Royal and August. It now remaineth that in a few words we add something concerning his Devotion and private Life.

The K. Devotion. 81. Such was the Universality of Gifts, and such the Measure of them given of God unto this Prince, as that whatsoever thing he set himself unto he became so singular in it, that he seemed a Man appropriate and set apart to that End only, insomuch that every several Passage of his Life makes a perfect Change of the former Current of his Story, and bears the Similitude of Introduction of a new Scene. Neither shall we hereafter judge him in his former Actions to have done more than only personated (as it were by Constraint) the Man that hitherto we have seen him, his Heart and natural Inclination being altogether bent another way, namely to Devotion and to his private Studies.

82. It had now been an Age of Devotion, and even yet to these Times it was no rare Thing for Princes themselves to renounce their Sovereignty and State, and entring into some Religious Order spend the Residue of their Days as Monks in retired Devotion, so violently did the Doctrine of the *Romish* Church work upon the Zeal, the Ignorance, or Simplicity of the Times. Howsoever it was, we can (at best) judge it but an Error of a pious and devout good Meaning, when instead of forsaking the World, they forsook Christ's Flock committed to their Charge to protect in the World; and when they should have been good Captains of *Christian* Warfare against the Evils of the times, and their good Lives have been Lights for others to have walked by,

they

they shunned the Battle, and hid the lighted Candle underneath the Bushel, withdrawing in a needful time the Influence of their Conversation, and leaving their Offices, perhaps to those, who if they better knew what it was to be a King, knew less what belonged to the being of a *Christian* Governour.

83. When our Saviour (concerning those whom he ordained to be Lights unto the World) prayed unto his Father, *That he would not take them out of the World, but keep them in the World*, if they through such a wrong kind of Imitation of St. *John Baptist's* Life had retired into Solitariness so to have lived a more strict and regular Holiness, they had both illuded his Prayer and frustrated his Work, whereas contrarily they *became all unto all men*, as the sure and most effectual Means *to save some*. For certainly Conversation has a proper and a powerfull Effect, as well in winning the Soul to Goodness as in corrupting of it unto Vice: whereas Monastick Holiness, especially when it is not joyned with some Travel or Study for the Good of others, is only to its self, or some few Fellow-Separatists; and if in it self it have fewer of the Batteries of Temptations, it has also fewer of the Graces that belong to Victory. And as to other Men, it so little conduces to Amendment of their Lives by exemplar Provocation, as it rather confirms them in a Carnal Dejection of Mind, when seeing that which they call Holiness of Life to be a Thing so rigid and unimitable to them, they perswade themselves that the Hope of some meaner Felicity must content them, and set up their Rest that the Practise of Honesty in an ordinary Manner will be as much as they shall ever attain unto.

84. But the King's Practise of Devotion (in this Point very remarkable) was not after Monastick Renuntiation, forsaking Labour and the Conversation of Men instead of the Intiements of the World, but was in a conversable Regularity, not only good in it self, but profitable to all, and in a greater or lesser Degree more obvious to every Man's Imitation. For holding himself

The King's Regularity in his Devotion.

himself fast unto the Duty of his Calling, so that for all the furious Storms and Troubles of the State he never shrunk from the Manage of it, he first (to correspond with the Vow of Monkish Poverty) devotes to God one Half of all his Annual Revenue, to be bestowed in Works of Piety: And because he would be sure not to fail the least Scruple in Performance, he caused his Officers yearly to divide into two equal Parts by Weight the Total of his Annual Income, and that done, to subdivide again one of those Halfs into four Parts, for the better Distribution of them in Alms and Charitable Works, in the way that he had determined constantly to imploy them.

His Poverty and Alms.

85. The first of the four Parts he assigned to the Relief of the Poor in General. The second to the Support and Maintenance of the two Monasteries which he had built. The third to the Maintenance of the Schools which he founded. And the fourth and last Part to the General Relief of all the Monasteries and Religious Houses in *England*, and (as occasion served) beyond Sea too.

86. The other Half of his reserved Revenue also was in three Parts set forth for three distinct Uses, (as we have already shewn) that is to say for Officers Fees and Wages; for Workmen and Labourers Wages; and for Entertainment and Rewards of Strangers. By which we may note the whilst, that the King's private Charge and Houshold were in those Days supported by the Demeasnes of the Crown, not let to Farm, but husbanded so as to supply him of all Things necessary. Yet I do not conceive that these Assignments of the Secular Part were permanent and fixed all his Life (as those of the devoted Part were) but temporary and suffered Alteration as there was Occasion for it.

His strictness in Religious Offices.

87. The King having thus honoured God with his Substance, proceeds in the same measure to honour him with his Personal Service also; and to that End devotes the one Half of his time to be imployed in Re-

[1] Solus regni gubernaculum titubare ac vacillare non sinebat. Flo. Wig.

ligious

ligious Exercises, not in private Devotion only, but first and especially in regular Attendance and Participation of the Publick Service of the Church, and then in Private Prayer, Reading, and Divine Meditations: for which end he ever bare in his Bosome [1] the Psalms and Office for the Day, and many void Leaves besides bound together with them, in which he made Collections dayly of Divine Sentences and Portions of Scripture, such as to the exciting of Devotion did affect him most; and having in that sort soon filled the vacant Leaves, and much delighted with the frequent Perusal of those selected Passages, he began another Book in *Quarto*, with *Quaternions* of Leaves stitched together, in which he continued his Collections, untill that with Addition of one *Quaternion* after another his Collections in that Kind grew to the bigness of a good *Psalter*. And so much Pleasure did he take in the Use of it, as that he called it his *Hand-Book*, because that Day and Night he ever had it at hand with him.

88. Having vowed to God the one Half of the Service both of his Mind and Body, his Care was now to make a just Performance of his Vow, which at that Time was so much the harder to do, for that (as then) they had neither Use of Hour-Glass nor Clock, whereby to make a right Division of the Time, as well by Night as Day: wherefore the King observing (as nearly as they could be) the Time that the Wax-Candles, with which he was ordinarily served, were on burning, he found out such a Proportion to make Candles on, as should keep a just Measure of the four and twenty Hours. His Proportion was this: he took as much Wax as at that time weighed 72 Penny-weight; this he caused to be made into six Candles, every Candle consisting of so much Wax as then weighed twelve Penny-weight, and each of them of the length of 12 Inches, with the Division of the Inches distinctly marked on them. These being lighted successively one after another did orderly burn four Hours apiece, that is every three Inches of

1 Diurnus cursus & Psalmi. *Asser.*

them

them an Hour, the whole 6 Candles so lasting out the full time of 24 Hours, the watching of which he committed to the Keepers of his Chapel, and they constantly from time to time gave him notice of their Wasting, and he accordingly ordered the Use of his time.

89. But because that in windy and stormy Weather the Candles wasted faster than at other times, and so misled the Account, the King was put to a Shift to supply that Miscarriage. He wanted Glass, (which though it had long before been brought into *England* by *Benedict* the Abbot that built St. *Peter* and *Paul's* Monasteries on the Banks of the *Wyre* in *Northumberland*; yet was it then brought in but as a Rarity, and was not now readily to be had;) being therefore necessitate to find out some present Means to save the Waste and Misburning of his Candles, he caused them to take fine white Horn, and shaving it so thin as to become transparent, to let it into little close Frames of Wood, and putting the Lights therein, he both provided Means that they might see how they consumed, and yet defended them from the Injury of the Wind. The thing being invented, and generally very usefull soon grew common, and though at this day Horning Lanthorns are but of Vulgar Use and Estimation, yet was the devising of them witty, and in the Original they were the Invention of a King.

Original of Lanthorns.

90. It is to be noted that there is Difference between the Relation of *Asser Men.* and *Malmsbury* concerning the Quantity of the Time that *Alfred* devoted, the first alledging as we have already delivered, the other that he divided the 24 Hours into three Parts, and that the first of them he devoted to God, the second to the Affairs of the Kingdom, and the third to his natural Refreshment and Rest, and so gave but a third Part of his Time to God. Which of the two shall be believed rather will be in the Reader's Opinion to determin; both are very credible Authors, but *Asser* not only lived in *Alfred's* time, but was also privy to the

1 *Malm. de Gest. Reg. Ang.*

making

making of the Vow. And it is not impossible that both were true. For it appears by *Asser* that the Vow was with some Limitation, and saving [1] to the Duty of his Calling, to the Necessity of his Occasions, and to the Strength of Nature, which in Practice might well be brought unto the proportion that *Malmsbury* delivers.

91. It is further considerable concerning this Vow of the King's, that it was made, neither in the Time of his Adversity, (when every Body is Religious) nor yet in his old Age, when the World had first forsaken him; but as he began his Religious Practises even in the Prime of his Youth, so this Vow was the free Oblation of his Heart in the Strength of his Years, and in the Height of his Success, and Fruition of the Good of all his passed Labours, soon after he had built the Monastery of *Athelinger* in Performance of his Vow for his Victory at *Athandune*.

92. In the Flower of his Age he took Check at the Motions of corrupt Nature, too powerfully inclining him to the Concupiscence thereof; for Remedy of which it was his Use to rise secretly [2] before Day, and getting him to Church there prostrate himself before God in Prayer, that he would give him Grace against the Strength of that Concupiscence, and at last that by the Mission of some special Infirmity upon him (yet such as would not make him contemptible, nor disable him in the Functions of his Life) he would please to humble him, and abate the Strength of that Corruption, that his Affections being freed from so violent Seducements he might wholly and without Diversion apply himself to the obeying of God's Word and keeping of his Commandments.

93. The Success of his Prayers was such, that he was soon taken with an extream Pain of the Piles and Emrauds, (a Disease that from his Infancy he had ever been subject unto, but now) in such a measure, as that it quickly effected the Thing that he desired, and reign-

1 In quantum infirmitas, possibilitas, & sapientia permitteret.
2 Galli cantu & horis Matutinis clam consurgens. *Asser.*

ing

ing on him some years together grew at last to that Extremity that he was often at the Point of Death therewith, till on a time, when being on Hunting in *Cornwall* he came near the Town, where St. *Guerir's* Church was, (in which St. *Meods* was after buried) and then slipping his Company he secretly turned aside to the Church to his Devotions, humbly again beseeching God that he would now be pleased to change that sore Disease into some other more tolerable Infirmity. Having finished his Prayers and returned to his Company, it was not long er'e he found himself as it were miraculously cured of that Trouble [1]; but withall he was forthwith visited with another, an intestine Pain, which taking him about the twentieth Year of his Age, and at the Time of his Marriage, held him above 20 Years in that violent and strange Manner, as that the Physitians being all posed to find what it was, made many think he was bewitched, and others that it was the immediate Hand and Malice of the Devil by God's Permission sent to try and exercise him.

94. As his Devotion first shewed it self in his Youth, so it constantly accompanied all the Actions of his whole Life; and though from his Youth he was bred a Man of War, and continually exercised in the Necessities of a Barbarous and Licentious War, yet could not the Roughness thereof distemper the Natural Tenderness of his Heart, nor any Outrage of the Barbarous Enemy so harden it against Pity, but that still for all their Provocations, he sought out the way to shew Mercy to them, never so truly pleased as when he could bring the Conclusion of the War to those Terms, as to make an Exchange of his own Temporal Victory for an Eternal Conquest of them to his Saviour. No Wrong, no Damage so great, no Advantage against them of such Consequence, but that all might be remitted, if once they offered to embrace Christianity; the King's Heart never exceeding moderation, but when Religion oversoftened it in Piety and Ways of shewing Mercy.

1 Some say he was cur'd by *Modwen* an *Irish* Virgin.

95. Nor

95. Nor is this all that is obſervable concerning his Devotion; but as he was a zealous Profeſſor himſelf, ſo (*Salomon*-like) he was a publick Teacher of it to others, not out of a Political Reaſon only, (as formerly we have ſhewn him) but out of a zealous and devout Intent alſo, not keeping the Virtue to himſelf and extending only the Fruit thereof (in Works of Charity) to others, but conſtantly labouring by all Means to communicate and beget in others the Exerciſe of the Virtue it ſelf, as he that in the true Fruition of himſelf breathed no other breath than of Devotion only; ſo that (as *Aſſer* tells us) it was his continual Uſe, whenſoever he had the leaſt Reſpiration from other Affairs, to be either Reading or Queſtioning of others to inform himſelf, or Reaſoning with them in Religious Matters by his Diſcourſe to inform them, he never ſo much reſenting the Poverty and Defect of his Country in any thing, as in the Want of Learned and Religious Men, by whoſe Help he might Advance Religion, Virtue, and Learning both in himſelf and others.

96. Concerning his private Life, it is not much that in particular is extant of him; but for the general it is manifeſt by all that he was a Man of an Admirable Temper of Mind, of ſtrong Natural Parts, and of great Variety. Nature from his Childhood gave him to be ſtudious, to muſe, and to obſerve much, by which we may conjecture that Melancholy had the Predominance in his Conſtitution, as alſo his Infirmity beforementioned may aſſure us. His firſt Encounter with his Book was on this Manner: His Private Life.

97. The Queen his Mother obſerving him one day very much delighted with a little Book of her's, that had the Capital Letters beautifully ſet forth with Gold and divers Colours, ſaid merrily in his and his Brothers Hearing, *that which of them ſoever ſhould ſooneſt get that Book by Heart ſhe would beſtow it on him.* Now the Book was a Book of *Saxon* Poëms. *Alfred* minding well what the Queen ſaid, and better likeing the Conditions than the reſt of his Brothers, came ſmileing to The firſt Specimen of his Inclination to Learning.

her, and asked if in good Earneſt ſhe would do as ſhe ſaid. She aſſured him ſhe would, and he thereupon departing in great Joy with the Book, went of himſelf and ſought out help to read it, and ſo induſtriouſly purſued his Purpoſe, as that although 'till then (which was the 12th. year of his Age) he had never been acquainted with Letter, yet he intermitted not one whit 'till he had both learned the Book and recited it unto his Mother.

His Progreſs in Learning anſwerable to the Beginning.

98. Anſwerable to this Beginning was his whole Progreſs in Learning; and though his Wit were very ſharp and univerſal, yet was it alſo ſtrong, induſtrious, and patient of Labour and Study: he was infinite in Reading, Writing, and Collecting, and (as *Æthelwerd*[1] teſtifies of him) the Books which he tranſlated were an unknown Number; and though *Saxon* were then a naked and ſcanted Language, deſtitute both of Phraſe and Originals wherewith to expreſs ſignificantly, eſpecially in Arts and Sciences, as having never had any great Familiarity with Letters, yet were his Verſions ſo full, ſo proper, and with that Lively Expreſſion, that they did infinitely take the Readers. He was counted a profound Scholar for thoſe times, a Grammarian, a Rhetorician, a Philoſopher, an Hiſtorian, a Muſitian, the Prince of *Saxon* Poëſy, and an Excellent Architect and Geometrician.

Bookscompoſed and tranſlated by him.

99. Mr. *Bale* in his Centuries hath ſummed up many of his Works, as well of thoſe that he tranſlated, as of his own Compoſing[2] or Collection, *viz.*

Breviarium quoddam collectum ex legibus *Trojanorum*, *Græcorum*, *Britannorum*, *Saxonum* & *Danorum*. lib. I.

Viſi-Saxonum leges. lib. I.

---

1 In propriam vertérat linguam volumina, numero ignoto, adeo varie, adeo peropime ut &c. *Æthelw.*

2 A certain Anonymous Author, which I have ſeen in a Miſcellaneous Collection of Sir *Kenelm Digby's*, (num. 196.) fixes the time for compoſing theſe Books by King *Ælfred*, and for his making Laws, to the Year 893.

Inſtituta

Inſtituta quædam. lib. I.
Contra Judices iniquos. lib. I.
Dicta ſapientum. lib. I.
Regum fortunæ variæ. lib. I.
Parabolæ & ſales. lib. I.
Acta Magiſtratuum. lib. I.
Collectiones Chronicorum. lib. I.
Manuale Meditationum. lib. I.

100. Theſe ten Books were all of his own Compoſing or Collection; of his Tranſlation into *Saxon* were theſe that follow, *viz.*

Hormeſtarii *Pauli* [1] *Oroſii*. liber I.
Paſtorale D. *Gregorii*. libri II.
Dialogus ejuſdem *Gregorii*. lib. I. But this was rather done at his Command by *Werefred* Biſhop of *Worceſter*, as we have ſhewed before.
Geſta *Anglorum Bedæ*. lib. V. [2] Of this Tranſlation there is yet a MS. Copy in the Univerſity Library at *Cambridge*, Vol. 241. with this Diſtich upon it, as ſaith Mr. *James* in his Catalogue:

Hiſtoricus quondam fecit me Beda Latinum,
Ælfred *rex* Saxo *tranſtulit ille prius.*

Boëtius de Conſolatione. lib. I. [3] This was the ſame of

1 There is a fair Copy of this amongſt Mr. *Junius's* MSS. in the *Bodlejan* Library, tranſcrib'd by *Junius* himſelf. Dr. *Talbot*, who writ Annotations upon *Antonius's Itinerary*, had a good MS. of it (in which he put ſome Notes) which he formerly lent to Mr. *Leland* the Antiquary. Vide *Lelandi* Coll. MSS. Vol. III. f. 193. a. Some are of Opinion that *Ælfred* was not Author of this Tranſlation (or rather Paraphraſe) of *Oroſius*, as you may ſee in Mr. *Somner's* Preface to his *Saxon Gloſſary*.

2 Publiſh'd by Mr. *Whelock*, who made uſe of this Copy mention'd by Sir *John* as well as others, of which he has given an Account in his Preface, and withall obſerves that 'tis rather a Paraphraſe than a Tranſlation. Three or four Years ſince there were ſome of our *Bodlejan* MSS. collated by Procurement of a certain Divine in order to a new Edition of *Bede*.

3 Publiſh'd at *Oxford Ann.* 1698. 8vo. from Mr. *Junius's* Tranſcript by Mr. *Chriſtopher Rawlinſon*, then Gentleman-Commoner of *Queen's* Coll. in this Univerſity. Some are of opinion that *Werefreth*, Biſhop of *Worceſter*, was Author of this Tranſlation: others ſay 'twas done

of which we ſpake before that did ſo much affect the Hearers. *Ælfred* himſelf was ſo much delighted with this Author, that he always carried it about with him in his Boſom.

Molmutinæ [1] leges. lib. I.
Martianæ leges. lib. I.
Aſſerii ſententiæ. lib. I.
Pſalterium *Davidicum*, lib. I. [2] This Tranſlation was the laſt, and that which ſhut up all his Studies, he being ſurpriſed by Death, when (as *Malmsbury* tells us) he had not gone above half way through with it.

101. Theſe were the King's Works, as Mr. *Bale* hath collected them; but *Malmsbury* [3] tells us of many more [4], though he nameth but few of them, and thoſe already ſet down: for he ſaith, *plurimam partem* Romanæ *bibliothecæ* Anglorum *auribus dedit*. And the old MS. [5] Hiſtory of *Ely*, cited by Arch-Biſhop *Parker* in

---

by *Aſſer Men.* as I alſo find it noted by Dr. *Gerard Langbain* (from a MS.) in the Margin of a Copy of *Florence of Worceſter* of the 4to Edition, ſhew'd me about three Years ſince by the Reverend and Worthy Dr. *CHARLETT*, Maſter of *Univerſity* College. Dr. *Plot* in his *Hiſt. of Oxfordſhire* (c. X. §. 118.) tells us that this Tranſlation was made by K. *Ælfred* at *Woodſtock*, for which he quotes a MS. in the *Cottonian* Library.

1 Concerning K. *Ælfred's* Tranſlation of the *Molmutian* and *Martian* Laws ſee *Sherringham de Anglor. Orig.* p. 119.

2 Publiſh'd by our Author, Sir *John Spelman*, at Oxon. 1640. 4to. from four MSS. The latter Part of it was done by another Hand. There had been a *Saxon* Verſion before, by *Aldhelmus* Biſhop of *Sherburne*, as is mention'd by *Bale* in his Life, and confirm'd by Mr. *Wharton* from an Epiſtle which he has publiſh'd of *Aldhelmus*. [Vide *Wharton. Auctarium Hiſtoriæ Dogmatica J. Uſſerii* &c. p. 351.] Which is likewiſe mention'd by Mr. *Leland*, [*de Script. Brit.*] which he ſays he ſaw himſelf; in which however I believe he is miſtaken, and rather believe that 'twas this Verſion of King *Ælfred's*, *Aldhelm's* having been loſt before *Ælfred's* time, as is obſerv'd by Sir *John Spelman* in his Preface to his Ed. of the *Saxon Pſalter*.

3 De Geſt. Reg. Angl. lib. 2.

4 Amongſt which muſt not be paſs'd by his Tranſlating *Æſop's Fables* out of *Greek* into *Latin* and *Saxon*, as I find it mention'd from a MS. by Mr. *Richard James* in the VIII. Volume of his MSS. Collections, in Bibl. *Bodl.* p. 23. 5 Hiſt. Elien. lib. 2.

his

his Preface to *Asser*, saith that the King translated all the New and Old Testament. The Words of the Book (as they are there cited) are thus: Aluredus, *acerrimi ingenii Princeps, per* Grimbaldum *&* Joannem, *doctissimos monachos, tantum instructus est, ut in brevi librorum omnium notitiam habuerit, totumque novum & vetus Testamentum in eulogiam* Anglicæ *gentis transmutaverit.* Neither doth that which *Malmsbury* saith any whit cross the Book of *Ely*: for it should seem (even by the order of the Words) that the King began with the most principal, and translated the new Testament first; and that done, he set upon the Old Testament, and so as his time served him he went on, 'till (as he was going through the *Psalms*) his Work was interrupted by his Death.

102. Besides all these it seemeth that he himself (like

---

1 *Boston* of *Bury* saith, *totum fere testamentum in linguam* Anglicanam *transtulit.* Which Words I suppose are to be understood of the *New-Testament.* I find them cited by Archbishop *Usher* in a Book of MSS. Collections in Custody of *James Tyrrell* Esq; But whether *Ælfred* really translated the whole Bible is somewhat to be doubted, notwithstanding what is said in this History of *Ely*. For if he had translated all, there would have been no need for *Ælfric*, Abbot of *Winchester*, and afterwards Archbishop of *York*, (and different from *Ælfric*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, as is evidently proved by Mr. *Wharton*, in his Dissertation *de duobus Ælfricis*, in *Angl. Sacra*, T. I. p. 125. which had been also hinted before, with an Argument or two to confirm it, by the Learned Mr. *John Josselin*, in his Preface to *A Testimony of Antiquity* &c. I say there would have been no need for *Ælfric* to have translated any Part anew afterwards, as 'tis certain he did, and I believe was induc'd to the Task to supply and compleat the Version of King *Ælfred*. Nor can it be objected that the King's Translation at that time was lost; since he had taken special care to prevent that, by sending Copies of it [See Mr. *Lisle's* Preface to *Ælfric's* Treatise concerning the Old and New-Testament, e 2.] with others of his Translation of *Gregory's Pastoral*, and certain Mancusses, or Marks, of Gold, the fairest of his Coyn, to the several Cathedral Churches; where the Books were kept 'till about the time of the Reformation by King *Hen.* VIII. See more of the Saxon Version of the Old and New-Testament, at the Beginning of Dr. *Marshall's Observationes in Versionem Anglo-Sax.* of the New-Testament, where he mentions several Versions of Parts of the Scripture in this Language.

Cæsar) writ a Commentary of his own Actions. For Mr. *Fox* saith [1] that he compiled a Story in *Saxon*, which was called *the Story of* Ælfred, and that he himself hath seen both that Story and his Translation of *Beda*.

His Temper.

103. We may in these see the King's Genius in the true Nature, no soft or roaving Melancholy, feeding it self with a superficial Running over all Variety of Objects, but advised and industrious, to choose and pursue such only as he might best convert unto either publick or private Benefit; so as we may count his Melancholy perfectly natural and ingenious.

104. It was also of an excellent Mixture and Preparation: for it was void both of Sadness and of Timidity, two (almost) inseparable Concomitants of that Humour; therefore he was always free and affable to all Men, of a constant Vigour and Alacrity of Spirit, and for his Courage it was so present and innate in him, that Fear could never make the least momentary Seisure or Misgiving of his Heart, though it often assailed him in desperate and unexpected Accidents: withall it was so rarely qualified, as that how great soever it was, it was yet possessed without that turbulent Ostentation, that lesser Spirits are often clogged withall. His Courage always rose according to the Exigence of the Occasion, and having served that, it quietly and without vapouring resolved into that Virtue that he was next to make use of. Neither was his Heart only conscious of his Valour; but it was actually approved both to himself and others. For though (by the Priviledge of a Prince) his Conduct and Command in the War, might justly enough have afforded him the Title of *Valiant*; yet Fortune would that the strict Tryal both of his Heart and Hands should make his pur-

1 Ad An. DCCCLXXII. *He also himself compiled a Story in the* Saxon *Speech, call'd* THE STORY OF ÆLFRED. Which Words are ambiguous. Yet that he writ a History I find in the Chronicle call'd, *Brute of England.*

chase

chaſe of it; of both which he often made particular Demonſtration, to the great Support of his own Party, to the Terrour of his Adverſaries, and to the Admiration of them both. *Solus adverſum pectus* (ſaith *Malmſbury*) *hoſtibus offerre, ſolus inclinatam aciem reſtituere, nota virtutis ſuæ ſpecie alienas territans ſuos corroborans*: ſo little glorying the whilſt in what he did, as we may judge that Virtue rather in Eſteem with him for the ſervice it always did him, than any way ſpecially affected, the natural Bent of his Heart (as we have ſaid) being wholly [1] unto Literature, and therein, above all other, to the Search of Divine Knowledge, and that, not as it is attained by Speculation only, but (which makes it truly Divine) as it is perfected in the way of Religious Practiſe.

105. While thus in ſo high a Strain of a moſt Exemplar Life, the King was ever exerciſing of himſelf, he became a Man beyond the Hopes of any Emulation, having (with a threefold Conqueſt) in his Enemy got the Maſtery of War, in his People of Vice, and in his own Perſon of human Frailty; ſo that becoming now a Light of more than ordinary Splendour, and placed upon ſo eminent a Candleſtick as a Throne is, there was no Place in Chriſtendom that received not the Glory of his Beams, being [2] beloved of all his Neighbour Princes, and honoured of all both far and near, in ſo much that (as *Baronius* telleth us) he obtained the Sirname of *The Great*. And (as we may ſee in *Aſſer*) he was ſaluted with Letters and a Preſent from *Abel* Patriarch of *Jeruſalem* in *Aſia*, which though *Aſſer* ſaw, and read the Letters, yet hath he not mentioned any thing of what they did contain. Of moſt conſummate virtue. His Eſteem abroad.

106. But moſt deſervedly was he honoured at *Rome*, who abundantly preſented him with Part of their Holy Reliques, and (which more truly argued their Reſpect unto him) at his Inſtance freed the *Saxon* College, or Houſe of *Saxons* there, from all Tribute and Impoſiti-

1 *Æthelwerd.* 2 Magna cum finitimis gratia. *Aſſer.*

ons,

ons, which with a heavy Hand had formerly been laid upon it.

His Death. 107. The King having to this Height of Glory brought his afflicted Affairs, finiſhed the Courſe of his Natural Life to the great Sorrow and Lamentation of his People, when he had reigned 28 years [1] and 6 Months, and was as well Sovereign of their Hearts and Affections, as of the Rights belonging unto Regal Juriſdiction. He was born in the year 849 at *Wantage* in *Berkſhire*, (a principal Mannour of the Kings of *Weſt-Saxons*, and now the Poſſeſſions of the Right Honourable *Henry* Earl of *Bath*:) he died in the [2] two and fiftieth year of his Age, upon the fifth of the *Calends* of *November* in the year [3] 900, and was firſt buried in the *New-Abbey* at *Wincheſter*, but afterwards his Body was

---

1 *Fifteen Years* only in a MS. of Sir *Thomas Bodley's*, [NE. B. 1. 6. f. 8. a.] *Nineteen Years and ſix Months* in a MS. of Archbiſhop *Laud's* G. 9. f. 43. b. *Twenty eight Years* in an old MS. *de Regibus Angliæ*, in Bibl. *Bodl.* inter Codd. *Laud.* C. 22. f. 1. a. as alſo in one NE. E. 2. 17. f. 37. b. But in another MS. there, [Codd. *Laud.* E. 3. f. 10. b.] as alſo in a MS. Hiſtory that Mr. *Leland* ſaw, [Col. Vol. I. f. 283. a.] 'tis ſaid he reign'd *twenty nine Years and an half*, and ſo alſo 'tis corrected by a later hand in the Margin of *Peter de Ickham*, inter Codd. *Laud.* I. 61. b. whereas before 'twas *twenty eight Years and an half*, juſt as 'tis in *Robert of Gloc.* MS. *Digb.* f. 75. a. and in a MS. of Sir *Thomas Bodley's* NE. D. 2. 12. f. 42. a. and in another which I have ſeen there. *Twenty nine Years* in MS. *Digb.* 196. as alſo in a MS. Genealogical Table in Bibl. *Bodl.* NE. D. 1. 22. f. 60. b. Others ſay he reign'd full thirty Years, and ſo *Caxton*, and ſome other Chronicles (different from his) call'd *Brute of England*.

2 *In the two and ſixtieth Year* according to an anonymous Author, MS. in Bibl. *Bodl.* NE. F. 3. 9. But *in the 51ſt.* according to the *Chronicle of St. Neots*, as I find noted by Mr. *Leland*, Collect. Vol. 2. f. 193. a. in which 'tis moreover ſaid that he died on the ſeventh of the Calends of *Nov.*

3 *DCCCCI.* MS. *Digb.* 196. and NE. D. 1. 22. f. 60. b. And ſo in *Thomas Rudborn*, and ſome others. But *John Hardyng* ſaith 'twas in the Year 898. or (as 'tis in the MS.) 895. See the Note above ad pag. 149. Mr. *Walker* in the Appendix to the *Latin* Tranſlation of this Life (after he has given an Account of the different Relations of ſeveral Printed Authors about the Time of his Death) tells us that it fell out upon the 5th of the Calends of *Nov.* being the Feaſt of *St. Simon* and *Jude*, in the Year of *Chriſt* 901, and the 53 of his Age.

taken

taken up from thence and buried in the Abbey of [1] *Hyde*, without the Gates of *Winchester* [2].

108. His Life and Actions have in all Ages since, until of late, been celebrated by the Writers of the Times with their choicest Expressions of his Praises, amongst whom *Henry Huntington* having for those times well set forth the Sum of his Life in an Epigram, I thought good here to insert it: Testimonies of his Life and Actions.

Nobilitas innata tibi [3] *probitatis honorem*
(*Armipotens* [4] Alfrede) *dedit*; *probitasque laborem*:

---

1 In a MS. of Archbishop *Laud's* C. 22. f. 2. a. 'tis said he was buried in *Hyde* Abbey, without the least Mention of his being buried before in the *New-Abbey*. But in MS. *Laud.* G. 9. f. 43. b. and in another of Sir *Thomas Bodley's*, [NE. B. 1. 6. f. 8. a.] he is reported to have been buried in the *New-Abbey*, without any Hint of his being taken up afterwards: exactly conformable to the Author of a MS. Chronicle in Bibl. *Bodl.* NE. F. 3. 9. where 'tis expressly said that he lies buried (*jacet humatus*) in the *New-Monastery*; tho' in another short Chronicle [in Bibl. *Bodl.* super Art. A. 42. f. 77. b.] I find him to be buried at *Winchester*, without express mention of the particular Place.

2 Not at *Worcester*, as in a MS. Chron. in Bibl. *Bodl.* NE. D. 2. 12. f. 44. b. Here it rested with several other of our Kings and Noble Persons 'till *Rich. Fox*, Bishop of *Winchester*, about the Year 1520, after many [*Speed's Chron.* p. 721.] Instances of his Piety, as well to this, as divers other Places in this Kingdom, caused all their Bones to be collected and put into several Chests of Lead, with Inscriptions to each Chest, signifying whose Bones lodged in them: all which he took care to have placed on the Top of a Wall, of exquisite Workmanship, built by him, to inclose the Presbytery of the Cathedral. After they had continued so for many Years, at last, *Dec.* 14. 1642. the Rebells, headed by Sir *William Waller*, most sacrilegiously broke into the Church, broke the Glass-Windows, destroy'd the Monuments, and amongst the rest prophan'd and violated these Sacred Cabinets of the Dead, scattering the Bones all over the Church, and carrying them in Triumph into other Places, some whereof were brought to *Oxford*, and lodged in the Repository adjoyning to the Publick Library.

3 *Prob. hon.* (*Arm. A.*) *dedit* are wanting in MS. *Bodl.* NE. D. 2. 12.

4 *Alurede* MS. *Bodl.* NE. B. 2. 14. f. 55. b. not so rightly in the Opinion of *Thomas Rudburn*, who says, [in *Hist. Maj.* p. 206. *Whurtoni Angl. Sacr.* Tom. 1.] *in sacra Baptismatis regeneratione vocatus est* ALFREDUS, *non* ALUREDUS, *sicut quidam indocte & inhoneste pronunciant.* *Alfride* al.

Perpe-

Perpetuumque labor nomen, cui mixta dolori
Gaudia semper erant, spes semper mixta timori.
[2] *Si modo victor eras, ad crastina bella* [3] *pavebas.*
Si modo victus eras, ad crastina bella parabas.
[4] *Cui vestes sudore jugi, cui sica cruore*
Tincta jugi; [5] *quantum sit onus regnare, probarunt.*
Non fuit immensi quisquam per climata mundi,
Cui tot in adversis vel respirare liceret.
Nec tamen aut ferro contritus ponere ferrum,
Aut gladio potuit vitæ [6] *finisse labores.*
Jam post transactos vitæ regnique dolores,
Christus *et sit vera quies, sceptrumque perenne.*

I have also, for the better satisfaction of every Reader, thought good to render them in *English*:

Thy true Nobility of Mind and Bloud
(O Warlike Ælfred*) gave thee to be good.*
Goodness Industrious made thee; Industry
Got thee a name to all Posterity.
'Twixt mixed Hopes and Fears, 'twixt Joy and Grief,
Thou ever felt'st Distress, and found'st Relief.
Victor this day, next day thou dost ne'rth'less
I'th Field dispute thy former Day's Success.
Or'ecome this Day, next Day for all the Blow
Thou giv'st or tak'st another Overthrow.
Thy Browes from Sweat, thy Sword from Bloud ner'e dry
What 'twas to Reign so to us signify.
The World cannot produce so much as one
That through the like Adversities has gone.
Yet found'st thou not the rest thou fought'st for here,
But with a Crown Christ *gives it thee elsewhere.*

---

1 The following Words to *timori* are wanting in MS. NE.D.2.12.

2 These two Verses immediately following are transpos'd in both the said MSS. in which 'tis also read *regni vitæque labores.*

3 Mr. *Leland*, in his Life of King Ælfred, [in opere *de Scriptorib. Brit.*] for *pavebas* has *parabas*, as I find it printed: but upon consulting the MS. I find that 'tis *pavebas*; and that *ra* is writ over *ve*, I believe by Mr. *Leland's* own Hand.

4 All but the two last Verses are wanting in those two MSS. in which 'tis also read, *regni vitæque labores.* 5 *Quantus sit honos* Leland. 6 *Finire* Leland.

109. While

109. While we consider the Reverend Esteem that generally, and even at *Rome* it self, was had of this King's Life, I cannot but note it as observable, that after his Death, his Memory was notwithstanding pass'd over without the Honour and Title of a Saint; when questionless had the Church of *Rome* born the same good Will toward him that they have done to others, it had not been hard for them in the Passages of his Life to have found as good a Ground for his Canonization as they have had for many whom they have Sainted. For beside the Instances that we have lost, his first calling to the Crown was, as we have shewn, by a vision to his Father. The Restoring of his overthrown Affairs was by a Vision to himself confirmed with a Miracle. The Means of his first Mortification was wrought by a Miracle at the Instance of his own Prayers, and by his Prayer in a Miraculous Manner again changed. His Profession was in Poverty, the one Half of his Revenue being given to God, while yet he executed the Function of a King. His Exercise was perpetual Preaching, his Life Regular, and his whole Reign not only a Persecution, but even a Degree of Martyrdom, by vile and barbarous Infidels; so as there hardly seemeth any thing wanting to the Demerit of Saint-Hood. He deserv'd to be Canoniz'd for a Saint.

110. But that we may know, that the King stood not in all Points in so perfect a Correspondence with that See as some would have us conceive, there are many Particulars that offer themselves to our Consideration. The King walked with too much Knowledg and Understanding, and was not so easy to be led by them as his Father was, and though in Spiritual Matters he reverenced the Pope (according to the Doctrine of the Times) as Universal Vicar, yet he understood not the Inferences that were after built upon that Foundation, but exercised his Regal Authority absolutely, for which Cause they seem to have declined striving with him, and therefore though it had happened that all the Bishopricks of *West-Saxony*, viz. *Winchester*, *Cornwal*, *Shirburn*, *Wells* and *Cridda*, were for three whole years together vacant Whether he was in all things conformable to the See of *Rome*?

vacant and only under the Cure of the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury* until the Time of the King's Death, yet hear we of no Offence taken therefore at *Rome*, but when after his Death they continued as long vacant in his Son *Edward's* Time, the first News of Distast that he heard of was a Curse and an Excommunication.

111. Again the King went a Course that did threaten and shake the Foundation of that Universal Sovereignty, which in those Times of Darkness they had newly built and made hast to finish: when contrary to the Omission made by their Authority under the Countenance of the Second *Nicene* Council he supputed unto the Decalogue the Commandment against Images, but especially when he made such Provision for Restoring of Letters, and when he took Order for a General Translation of all Kind of Books of Divine Argument, and above all other the Old and New Testaments into the Vulgar Tongue.

112. Again we see that when the King sought far and near for Learned Men, and procured them from divers Parts beyond the Seas, the Church of *Rome* gave him no help, neither had he any Scholars from thence, although he sent often thither his Presents and Devout Oblations to St. *Peter*, and was as often answered with their Holy Favours of another Kind.

113. On the other side when *Scotus Erigena* was so prosecuted by the Pope for having written something contrary to the Relish of the See of *Rome*, as that the Emperor's Countenance was no sufficient Protection for him in *France*, the King did notwithstanding send for him and entertain him here. And above all others used his Help both in Reading to himself in private and publickly to all Comers while he professed in the University.

114. Lastly, though his Strictness toward Religious Men, in Holding them severely to the observance of the Orders of Holy Church, was nothing pleasing to many of them, yet perhaps they would never have given so much Liberty to the venting of their Stomachs as to

raise

raise Tales of him after his Death, and say that his Ghost walked, had they not had some discerning that his Life and Ways were not perfectly pleasing to the Fathers of *Rome*. All which I have the rather noted, because that *Baronius*, *Harpsfeild*, and other *Romish* Catholicks, do not a little boast of the Obedience and Conformity of this Glorious Prince as of one that were wholly theirs; whereas indeed (all things considered) he manifested himself to be less theirs than one would think a *Christian* Prince at those Times could have been, and was certainly rather revered than affected of them.

115. *Nicholas Harpsfeild* recordeth a Speech of his, which though I find not in *Asser*, (whom he citeth for it) yet may we well enough allow it to be his, as agreeing well with his Moderation and Piety, if so be we may take it with a fair and reasonable Construction, and not understand the Words to have that particular Meaning that *Harpsfeild* pretends of Submitting Absolutely to what Laws soever the Pope, as Sovereign of the Church, should make. *Harpsfeild's* Words of *Ælfred* are these[1]: *Germanam & genuinam esse Regis dignitatem ducebat, si in regno* Christi, *quæ est Ecclesia, se non regem sed civem agnosceret, si non supra sacerdotum leges se elate efferret, sed legibus* Christi, *per sacerdotes promulgatis submisso se atque humili animo subderet.* But this but by the way.

116. The King had to Wife[2] *Ælfwith*, the Daughter of *Ethelred* Earl of the *Gaines*, (Surnamed *Mucbil* or *Great*) and of *Edburgh* his Wife, descended of the King of *Mercia*; and by her he had two Sons and three Daughters. His Wife and Children.

117. *Edward* his Eldest Son[3] succeeded him in the

1 In Hist. *Angl.* Secul. IX. c. 5. 2 Or *Ethelwyth*.

3 In *Thomas Rudburn's Historia Major* (pag. 207. Tom. I. *Wharton's Angliæ Sacræ*) is mention of another Son named *Edmund* elder than *Edward*; which seems to be true from *Asser's* telling us that there were others besides these who died young: tho' there is not the least Hint of this in King *Ælfred's* Will, printed by Archbishop *Parker* at the End of his Edition of *Asser*.

Kingdom,

Kingdom, and is commonly known by the Name of *Edward the Elder*[1].

118. His second Son and youngest of his Children was named[2] *Æthelward*, and was bred a Scholar.

119. His Eldest Daughter *Æthelfleda* was married to *Æthelred* Earl of *Mercia*. She was a Lady of more than Feminine Spirit, and possessed [3]her Father's Virtues and Abilities in a greater Measure than one would think communicable unto the Sex, insomuch that she stood her Brother *Edward* in extraordinary stead in Manage of his Affairs, although he himself was a Man no whit unanswerable to the Function of a King.

120. His Daughter[4] *Æthelgeow* was, as we have said, a Nun, and afterward an Abbess of the Abby of[5] *Æthelongey*.

121. His youngest Daughter, named by some *Elfrith*[6], by others *Æthelswith*, was married unto *Baldoven*, Earl of *Flanders*, from which Match the after Earls of that Earldom were descended.

122. These

---

1 He built the Church of *Romsey*, or *Ramsey*. See the Catalogue of Churches founded before the *Conquest*, MS. *Digb.* 196. & NE. E. 2. 17. in Bibl. *Bodl.* in both which MSS. however three lines after 'tis said that the said Church was built by Earl *Alphine*, or *Alwyne*, exactly agreeable to the History of *Ramsey*, publish'd by the learned Dr. *Gale*, the Extracts made by Mr. *Dodsworth* in *Monast. Angl.* and other Authors.

2 Or *Egelward*.

3 Amongst other things (as the Building of *Brunnesbury*, *Burgh upon Severn*, *Tamworth* near *Lichfeld*, *Stafford*, *Chirisbury*, *Warbury*, and *Ellesbury*, as I find them in a MS. Chron. NE. D. 2. 12. f. 44. a.) she repair'd *Warwick* after it had been destroy'd by the *Danes*. See Sir *W. Dugdale's Antiq. of Warwickſh.* pag. 298. and a Fragment of *John Ross* in his Book *de Episcopis Norwicensibus*, inter Coll. *Leiandi* in Bibl. *Bodl.* NE. F. 11. 18. f. 39. a.

4 *Ethelgeva* in MS. *Bodl.* NE. F. 3. 9.

5 *Shaftesbury* in Chron. MS. *Bodl.* NE. D. 2. 12. f. 44. b.

6 In the said MS. as likewise in *Thomas Rudburn's* Chron. [See *Boland's* Coll. MSS. Vol. I. f. 593. a. and Mr. *Wharton's Angl. Sacra*, Tom. I. pag. 207.] is mention of a fourth Daughter call'd *Elfreda*, which I believe to be a Mistake arising from *Æthelswith's* being call'd by some *Ælfrith*, which the Anonymous Author therefore, as well as *Thomas Rudburn*, has ignorantly made two distinct Persons; tho'

it

122. Theſe were all the Sons and Daughters which he had. His Male Deſcendents for [ten] Succeſſions together did wear the Imperial Crown after him. And though the fatal Viſitation and Judgment of God upon the *Engliſh* Nation (firſt Temporary by the *Dane*, and after final by the *Norman*) then faſt approaching ſoon made an End of them and their Succeſſions; yet pleaſed it God to ſhew ſo eſpecial a grace to this King and in him to the whole Kingdom, that albeit the Crown of *England* ſhould ſince his Reign ſuffer three ſeveral Tranſlations of it ſelf, and every time fall into the Hands of a ſeveral Nation, yet the Deſcendents Female of King *Ælfred* outliving the ſhort Empire of the *Dane* (the firſt of the three Reigning Forreigners) ſhould by the means of an Happy Match with *Henry* the firſt meet again with their long eſtranged Right, and ſo uniting it with the *Norman* Crown bring unto the Kingdom the Bleſſing of Union and Eſtabliſhment: And when again it afterward happened that through the Failance of Heirs here within the Land the Crown muſt needs be once more transferred unto another Nation, even then again pleaſed it God it ſhould be carried into that Sacred Hand, which (Lineally deriving from King *Ælfred's* Heirs the long recontinued Right of Inheritance) was preordained to be the Happy Uniter of the two Kingdoms that were within this Iſland. From whom his Majeſty, now Reigning, receiving the Monarchy whole and entired, does, notwithſtanding the threefold Alienation, to this Day continue, both in

---

it muſt be allow'd that this making of *Ælfred* have four Daughters is conformable to one Part of his Will, publiſh'd by Archbiſhop *Parker* at the End of his Edition of *Aſſerius Men.* where 'tis ſaid that he left his four Daughters a Legacy of four hundred Pounds, to each an hundred Pounds: which four hundred Pounds, according to Mr. *Camden's* Computation [See his *Remains*, pag. 167, of the 4to Edition.] is about 1200 Pounds of our Money. Yet it muſt be obſerv'd that a little before in the ſame Will is mention made only of three Daughters; ſo that it were to be wiſh'd we had a new Edition of it, from the ſeveral MSS. now remaining, with all the Variations ſpecify'd at the Bottom of the Page or in the Margin.

Right

Right and Poſſeſſion, the Lineal Heir and Succeſſor of him that was the firſt Imperial Founder of *Engliſh* Monarchy.

Deo gloria & gratiarum actiones.

Auctoris ad *Ælfredum* ſuum.

DUM te perpetuo gens barbara Marte fatigat,
Nec vacat (armipotens *Ælfrid*) ab hoſte manus:
Et dum barbaries (belli comitata furorem)
Corripit heu! ſacri quicquid in orbe fuit:
Jura, Dei cultus, mores, (bona dulcia pacis)
Muſæ, artes, merces, te faciente, vigent.
Magne pater patriæ, Regum Regnique *Britanni*,
Quantus eras, vetitum jam fore ſcire, dolet.
O quam mente capax! ô quam virtute coruſcus!
Exſuperant noſtram quam tua facta fidem!
Culmina ſumma tenus diadema nepotibus auctum
Tradis, permodicum quod fuit ante tibi.
O quſ fit, (virtute parem quum vix tulit orbis)
Te mundo tantum delituiſſe tenus?
Maluit hoc ſiquidem fatum ignorare nepotes,
Res potius quam non credere poſſe tuas.

F I N I S.

I *Had once deſign'd to have here ſubjoyn'd two other excellent* Diſcourſes, viz. (1) A View of a Printed Book intituled, *Obſervations upon his Majeſtie's* (King *Charles* the Firſt's) *late Anſwers and Expreſſes.* Oxon. 1642. 4to. (2) The Caſe of our Affairs in Law, Religion, and other Circumſtances briefly examined, and preſented to the Conſcience. — 1643. 4to. *Both of them written by this* Religious, Loyal, *and* Learned Author, *as I gather from two* Memorandums *put at the beginning of the* Copies *of them in the* Bodleian *Library by Biſhop* Barlow. *But upon* ſecond Thoughts *I have omitted them,* (*hoping that they will at ſome time or other be reprinted in a* Collection *of ſuch* Papers *by ſome* Judicious *Perſon* ;) *and have printed only this* Hiſtory *of* Alfred the Great, *which I have faithfully tranſcrib'd from the* Original *in the ſaid* Bodleian *Library, and been at the Pains alſo of annexing divers* Notes *to it, extracted in a great meaſure from* MSS. *in which I have been the more particular, becauſe it ſeems to me that the moſt* minute Circumſtance *will be thought* valuable *in the* Hiſtory *of thoſe* Times, *concerning which we have ſo* little *left upon* Record, *if compar'd with what remains of the* Times *after the* Norman Conqueſt. *This* Life *was ſeveral Years ſince tranſlated into* Latin *by the ingenious Mr.* Chriſtopher Waſe, Superior Beadle *of the* Civil Law *in* Oxford, *and publiſh'd from the* Theater-*Preſs in a thin* Folio, *with a* Commentary, *by the Reverend and Learned Mr.* Obadiah Walker, *Maſter of* Univerſity College ; *but ſome Perſons having been of opinion that more* Juſtice *would be done to the* Author's *Memory to have it publiſh'd in the ſame* Language *in which it was written, in complyance to their* Sentiments, *I have accordingly ſent it abroad in it's own* Natural Dreſs, *not doubting but that it will meet with a* Reception *worthy of it's* admirable Author ; *who however I believe, if he had liv'd to have publiſh'd it himſelf,*

would have cut off several Passages *that he has inserted concerning the* two Universities.

Mr. Walker, *by way of* Appendix, *has added divers* Fragments *of* Antiquity; *which I have seen quoted by some learned Men as being the* Addition *of Sir* John Spelman *himself. And indeed it is certain that he intended*[1] *such a* Supplement; *but there being no such in the* Original MS. *I have quite left out all these* Particulars, *and chosen rather instead of them, to add a* Roman Inscription, *lately found at* Walcote, *about a Mile* North-East *of* Bathe, *and communicated to me by the ingenious and learned Mr.* HALLEY, Savilian *Professor of* Geometry *in* Oxford. *Which tho' it does not relate to the* Saxon *History, yet because it has never yet been publish'd, and because it illustrates the* History *of this* Island *during the time it was possess'd by the* Romans, *I think it may properly enough be allow'd a Place here, and I hope that it will be acceptable to all* Lovers *of* this Sort *of Learning.*

1 See what he says, l. II. s. 66.

AN INSCRIPTION

Lately found near BATHE, with some *Observations* upon it.

IVLIVS VITA
LIS FABRICES
IS LEG XX V V
STIPENDIOR
VM IX ANNOR XX
IX NATIONE BE
LGA EX COLEGO
FABRICE ELATV
S H S E

§ 1.

§. 1. I Have represented the *Inscription* just as it was describ'd for my Use by Mr. *HALLET*. Perhaps some may from this, and other *Inscriptions* mention'd by Mr. *Camden*, gather that this was a Place of *Note* in the time of the *Romans*. If so, we may conjecture that here were then *Accommodations* provided for the Reception of such Persons as were troubled with *Diseases* that were *Infectious*, on purpose to prevent the *ill Consequences* of those *Distempers* at *Bathe*, which was even *then* frequented by *sick* People from *all Parts* of the *Kingdom*. There is no *Record* indeed for such a *Surmise* in the *History* of the *Roman* Times; but that 'twas put to such an Use whilst the *Saxons* were in *Britain* seems manifest from the *Name* it self; *Walcote*, or *Welcote* [1], signifying *a Place where the Pestilence is*, or rather *an Habitation for diseased* or *sick Folk*. Mr. *Camden* [2] calls it *Walcote*, which makes it have another *Signification*, either from Ƿealð, Ƿalð, or Ƿalt, i. e. a *Wood*, *Forrest*, or *Grove*; or else (which is the more likely) from Ƿold, i. e. a *Plain* [3]. But however this be, 'tis certain these *Ancient Monuments* confirm the Opinion of those, who think that the *Foss*-Way pass'd by here. Mr. *Leland* in his Account of *Bathe* [4] mentions nothing of this *Way*; but in his Account of *Cirencester*, where most suppose the four *Principal Roman* Ways cross'd, he hints [5] that it took it's Course along here; and he insinuates the same in another Place of his *MSS. Collections* [6]. Now this *great Way* going by this *Village* occasion'd the *Burial Place* of the *Romans*, inhabiting at *Bathe*, and in

Walcote perhaps a Place of Note in the Time of the *Romans*. The *Roman Foss*-Way in all probability pass'd by it.

1 *Walcote* in the old *Valor Beneficiorum*, in Bibl. *Bodl.* f. 166. a. Ƿale signifies the same with Ƿal or Ƿæl. See Mr. *Sumner's Saxon Dict.* 2 See in his Discourse of *Bathe*. 3 See Dr. *Gibson's Interpretation of the Names of Places*, at the End of the *Saxon Chron.* 4 *Itin.* MS. Vol. II. fol. 36. 5 See ibid fol. 25. Also Mr. *Hollingshead's*, or rather Mr. *Harrison's Descript. of Brit.* Part. I. cap. 19. p. 112. 6 Vide *Coll.* Tom. II. p. 353, 354. ex Historia *Eulogii*, quam scriptam opinatur *Lelandus* à Monacho quodam *Malmsburiensi*.

the *Neighbouring Places* to be fix'd here. For after the *Publication* of the *XII. Tables* [1] 'twas *unlawful* to bury the *Bodies* not only within the City of *Rome*, but also in *other Cities* both in *Italy* and *elsewhere*; tho' sometimes the *Law* was transgress'd, by *Connivence* of the *Commissioned Officers*, upon Account of Persons of *extraordinary Rank*. This *Prohibition* being once *Publish'd*, the *Places* of *chief Note* for the *Funeral Exequies* were the *Publick High-Ways*, as *Guther.* [2] has particularly noted; by which must be *chiefly* understood the most *Principal Ways*, such as the *four noted* ones in this *Isle*, of which the *Foss* was one. The Reason of their Pitching upon *Places* adjoyning to these *Ways* for *Burial* appears not only from *Varro*, who says [3], *monumenta enim in Sepulchris secundum viam sunt, quæ prætereuntes admoneant & se fuisse, & illos esse mortales*; but likewise from *ancient Inscriptions*, especially one in *Gruter* [4].

Julius Vitalis, Fabricensis of the XX *Legion* styl'd *Valens Victrix. Fabricensis* the true Writing of that Word, not *Fabriciesis* or *Fabrigesis*. *Tully* corrected.

§. 2. 'Tis manifest from the *Inscription* that *Julius Vitalis*, one of the *Belgæ*, who inhabited *Somersetshire*, *Wiltshire*, and the *inner* Part of *Hampshire*, by Birth, was *Fabricensis* to the XXth. *Legion*; which was styl'd *Valens Victrix*, that being the Meaning of *V. V.* as appears from several *Inscriptions* in *Gruter*, and other *old Monuments*. *Dion* calls [5] it *Valeriana Victrix*, and *Patercullus* [6] *Valeria Victrix*. Mr. *HALLET* told me that he was of Opinion that at the time this *Monument* was erected the Word *Fabricensis* was pronounced *Fabriciesis*; as if C were a *Ligature* or *double Letter* for *CI*. What may be thought to make good his *Conjecture* is the Word *COLEGO* below, where, if we follow the *common way* of Writing and Pronouncing, there must be two *Ligatures* or *double Letters*, namely C. for *OL*,

1 See *Guilielmus de Jure Manium*, lib. II. cap. 33. 2 Loc. cit. 3 Lib. 5. *de Ling. Lat.* 4 CCCXXXI. 5. 5 Lib. 55. Vide *Ursatii de Notis Romanorum*, pag. 81. Tomi XI. *Græv. Thes. Antiq. Rom.* 6 Vide *Urs.* loc. cit.

and

ꝑꝛꝛꝛeꝛ-beaꝛn, for ꝑoꝛꝛeꝛ-ꝑæbeꝛ and ꝑoꝛꝛeꝛ-beann, as it appears in the *Mæneologium Saxonicum MS.* And then as to one of the *l*'s being left out, we have a great Number of *Examples* for it. So in *Gruter* we have *colega* for *collega* [1], *efitax* for *efficax* [2], *ese* for *esse* [3], *jousit* for *jousſit* [4], *Mavelum* for *Mucellum* [5], *profesus* for *profeſſus* [6], *ſupelex* for *Supellex* [7], to omit others. Even the *Grammarians* themſelves take Notice of this, and ſome of them acquaint us, [8] that when the *Antients* did not *double* the *Conſonants* they had a certain *Mark* over the Word to ſignify that they ſhould be *doubled*. Theſe *Errors* in *Inſcriptions* (if they really are ſuch) will not however make againſt their *Authority*, there being in thoſe that were to the *Memory* of any Perſon of *extraordinary Note* and *Diſtinction*, all poſſible Care taken to have them right, eſpecially in thoſe more near *Rome*; and there were *Penalties* annex'd to *Negligence*. For Perſons of *leſs Note*, there was *leſs Care*, as likewiſe there was in *Places* of great Diſtance from *the City*: whence ariſes the *greater* or *leſſer Authority* in *Rules of Orthography*, tho' in other Reſpects the *Inſcriptions* may perhaps be *equally valuable*. And it may be we may attribute the *Omiſſions* in this *Inſcription* we are now conſidering to the *Diſtance* of the *Iſle* from *Rome*.

§. 3. I do not remember to have ſeen the Word *Fabricenſis* in any other *Inſcription*; but, as I obſerv'd juſt now, in the *Theodoſian Code* [9] there is an *Article* expreſly about them; by which we are informed that their *proper Office* was to make *Publick Arms*, which they were to do in the *Publick Fabricæ* or *Forges*. And when they had made them, they were to give them to the *Officer*, whoſe *Buſineſs* it was, that they might be *carefully* placed in the *Publick Armories*.

The *Office* of the *Fabricenſes*. They were different from the *Barbaricarii*.

1 DXLI. 2. 2 XXXIII. 4. 3 CLXXI. 8. 4 CLXXI. 8. See alſo the *Laws* of the *Bacchanalia* in Edit. *Oxon.* T. *Livii*, Vol. VI. p. 237. 5 CLXXI. 8. 6 CCV. 2. 7 CLXXXIII. 9. 8 Vide *Marii Victorini Art. Grammat.* apud *Puſchium*, col. 1456. 9 Lib. X. Tit. 22. Vide item XL. *Cod. Juſt.* IX. & *Novellam Theodoſii* XLIII.

That they might attend this *Work* wholly, none but such as were of the *College* of the *Fabricenses* were allow'd to make *Arms* for the Use of the *Empire*[1]; a *Publick Salary* was settled upon them[2], they were *prohibited* to sell their *Arms* for an *Addition* to the *Salary*[3], they were not to be involv'd in *Business* of the *City* where they resided[4], and therefore only such as were not *curiales*, i. e. those that were *à curia liberi*[5], were receiv'd into the *College*. Moreover after they were created, or once admitted *Members* of the *College*, neither *themselves* nor their *Children* could desert that *Office* 'till such time as they obtain'd the Honour of *Primicerius*[6]. In order to which every *Fabricensis* had a *Stigma* or *Mark* made upon his *Arm*, by which he might be discover'd if he fled away[7]. The *Primicerius* was the *Master* or *Governour* of the *Fabrica*. He is call'd by *Ammianus Marcellinus*[8], *tribunus Fabricæ*. Sometimes we find him styl'd *Præpositus Fabricæ*, and *Subadiuva Fabricæ*[9]. Under the same *Officer* were also the *Barbaricarii* (sometimes *corruptly* writ *Barbarici*, *Barbari*, or *Barbarii*, and *Brambaricarii*) who were to *adorn* and *beautify* the *Arms* made by the *Fabricenses*[10]. As for the *Primicerius* himself, he was under the *Magister Officiorum*, and was to give an Account to him of the *Arms* lodg'd by him in the *Publick Armories*, as we gather from the *Notitia Imperii*, and the *Commentators* upon it.

We had at least one *Fabrica* in *Britain*, which perhaps was plac'd at *Bavis*.

§. 4. But what seems most remarkable in this *Inscription* is that by it is suggested that in the time of the *Romans* here was a *Publick Fabrica* in *Britain*. 'Tis true the *Notitia* mentions no such thing; but *Pancirollus* and

1 See *Pancirollus* upon the *Notitia Imp.* col. 1498. B. of *Graevius's* Edition. 2 Ibid. 3 Ibid. 4 Ibid. col. 1508. A. 5 Ibid. and *Cassiod.* VII. 18. where he gives the *Form* we'd in Creating the *Fabricenses*, call'd by him *armorum factores*. 6 *Pancirol.* ibid. col. 1508. B. 7 Ibid. 8 L. XV. c. 5. 9 See *Gothofred's* Notes upon the *Theodosian Code*. 10 See *Gothofred.* ib. *Du-Fresne's Gloss. Mediæ & Infimæ Latinitatis*, and *Pancirollus*.

others

others have observ'd that the *Copies* are not *exactly* taken from the *MSS.* and therefore 'twould be time *well spent* for those, who have *opportunity*, to consult them particularly for this thing, especially since we are sure that some *Copies* reckon *XX. Fabricæ* in the *Western Empire* [1]; whereas the *Vulgar Editions* have only *XIX.* If there be no *Defect* in the *Common Editions*, to reconcile the *Inscription* with them, we may suppose here was a *Fabrica* erected after the *Establishment* of the *Empire* by *Constantine the Great*, at such time as the *Isle* was very much infested and almost overrun by *Barbarous Enemies*. And this might be done either by the *Vicarius*, or else by the *Comes Britanniarum*, tho' I rather incline to the *Latter*, the other being not concern'd in *Military Affairs*. There was the *Dux Britanniarum* also, who might likewise challenge this *Power*, were we not assur'd that he was *inferior* to the *Comes*, and was only *assistant* to him. The *Comes* had the *whole Care* himself of the *Military Government* of the *Isle*, (excepting that *Part* which belong'd to the *Comes Littoris Saxonici*) and was *immediately* under the *Magister Militum of the West*. However this be, (for from our present *Evidences* we cannot determine) we may I think, conclude that we had in *Britain* at least one *Fabrica*, which in all likelyhood was plac'd at *Bathe*, or *Aquæ Solis*, as then call'd. For all *Fabricæ* were erected in such *Towns* as were very *considerable*, and were not far from the *Limits* of the *Empire* and the *Souldiers* [2], to which *Bathe* does not *at all* disagree. The Expression *ex collegio Fabricæ clatus* likewise denotes the *Fabrica's* being in a Neighbouring City, the terms *efferre* and *educere*, or rather *deducere*, being properly as'd for *Burial*, when the *Bodies* were carried out of *Cities* into the *Pomœria*, or into the *Adjoyning Places*, where they buried them: nor were they [3] brought into use, till after

1 See *Pancirollus* ex Edit. *Grævii*, col. 1866. B. 2 *Panciroll.* col. 1498. B. 3 See *Gyraldus de vario sepeliendi ritu*, p. 736. Edit. *Lugd. B.* MDCXCVI. and *J. Fael's* Com. upon the Place. Also *Kirchman, de Funerib. Rom.* lib. II. c. 1.

the

the XII. Tables for hindering Burying within the City were promulged. Answerable to which the Greeks made use of ἐκφέρειν and ἐκκομίζειν. Thus in Luke VII. 12. ὡς δὲ ἤγγιζεν τῇ πύλῃ τῆς πόλεως, καὶ ἰδοὺ ἐξεκομίζετο τεθνηκώς. And κομίζειν was also us'd in the same sense, as may be seen in Stephens's Thes.

And was supply'd with Iron, as well as Coals, from the Neighbouring Countries. Yet never any Veins of Iron in the Hills round Bathe.

§ 5. The Fabrica being settled here, (for so we will suppose, 'till something be alledg'd to disprove it) was supply'd with Iron from the Neighbouring Countries, there being great Store of it in those Parts. But the chief Place that afforded them Iron seems to have been the Forrest of Dean in Monmouthshire, where there is a prodigious Quantity of Iron Stone and Cinders found [1], with which is made the best Sow-Iron in the known World. These Cinders are call'd the Roman Cinders, being nothing else but the Rough and Offal thrown by in the time of the Romans, who had only Foot-blasts to melt the Iron-Stone; but now [2] by the Force of a great Wheel, that drives a Pair of Bellows twenty Foot long, all that Iron is extracted out of the Cinders, which could not be forced from it by the Roman Foot-blast. And not only in the Forrest of Dean, and thereabouts, but even as high as Worcester there are such large and infinite Quantities of these Cinders, some in vast Mounts above Ground, as will supply the Iron-Works some Hundreds of Years [3]. This, I think, is a sufficient Indication not only of the great Store of Iron made by the Romans, but likewise of the great Number of Arms us'd by them. As the Fabrica was set in a Place very convenient for Iron, so also was it for Coals, both which the Provincials were oblig'd to bring into the Fabrica by the Laws of the Empire, as is observ'd by Gothofred in his Notes upon Theodosius. But whereas some may be inclin'd to think that the Hills round about Bathe had formerly

1 See England's Improvement by Sea and Land, written by Andrew Yarrington, p. 57. 2 See ibid. p. 59, 60. 3 Ibid.

Veins

Veins of *Iron* in them; and that for that reason the *Roman Fabrics* might be styled *here*, I must confess that I cannot conform to such an opinion. For notwithstanding *Johnson*[1] declares that he is of opinion that the *Heat* and *Tincture* of our *Bathe Waters* proceed from the *Veins* of *Iron* conceiv'd by him to be hid in these *Hills*, yet others of *great Observation* and *exquisite Judgment* in *these Matters*[2], tell us that *Iron* causes no such *Heat* and *Tincture*, and to confirm their *Sentiments*, they instance in *Waters* where there are certainly *Veins* of *Iron*; and they therefore concur with those who believe that these *Accidents* in the *Bathe Waters* proceed from certain *Chalky Stones*, which have been found here and there to work out of the *Ground*.

§. 6. Amongst other things we may take occasion from this *Inscription* to consider the *ancient Way of Pointing* amongst the *Romans*: First of all they used no *Points*, as *Putsch* has taken Notice from *Quintilian*. Some are of opinion that they were brought into Use in the Reign of *Adrian*, because in *Suidas* 'tis reported of *Nicanor* the *Grammarian* that he wrote [illegible], and also [illegible]. But *Lipsius*[3] observes that this was only a *Motion* made for bringing in *Pointing*, not that it was receiv'd: which is probable enough from what *Suidas* himself presently after delivers; namely that for these *Books* he was laugh'd at by divers *Wags*, and called [illegible]. *Points* were therefore brought into Use afterwards, but when is uncertain, *Books* that we have in *Capital Letters* being without them. So that it seems was after *small Letters* came to be in Fashion that they were brought up. Which is also confirm'd from the Word they were first call'd by, *viz. Positurae*. They were different from

The *ancient way of Pointing* corrected.

1 *De Thermis Bathonicis*, at the end of his *Mercurius Britannicus*.
2 See Dr. *Childrey's Britannia Baconica*, p. 36. 3 See ibid. p. 38.
4 *De Distinct.* c. IV. 5 See *Suid.* in hac voce. 6 In his Letter about *Pointing*, printed with *Putsch's Diss. de Distinct.*

what

what we use at present, being but *three* in Number, a *Subdistinction* or *Comma*, a *Middle Distinction* or *Colon*, and a *Final Distinction* or *Period*. These three *Points* or *Distinctions* were all they had, and they varied from one another only by the different *Position* of the *Tittle* they made use of, the *First* being placed at the *Bottom*, the *Second* against the *Middle*, and the *Third* at the *Top* of the *Letter*. Of this we have a full Account in the following Words of *Isidore*[1]: Positura *est figura ad distinguendos sensus per* cola, *&* commata *&* periodos. *quæ dum ordine suo apponitur, sensum nobis lectionis ostendit. Dictæ autem* Posituræ, *vel quia punctis positis annotantur; vel quia ibi vox pro intervallo distinctionis deponitur. Has* Græci Σήστα *vocant*, Latini Posituras. *Prima* Positura Subdistinctio *dicitur eadem &* κόμμα. Media distinctio *sequens est ipsa &* κῶλον. Ultima distinctio *quæ totam sententiam claudit: ipsa est* περίοδος: *cujus, ut diximus, partes sunt* κῶλον *&* κόμμα: *quarum diversitas punctis diverso loco positis demonstratur. Ubi enim in initio pronunciationis necdum plena pars sensus est, & tamen respirare oportet, fit* comma, *id est particula sensus punctusque ad unam literam ponitur, & vocatur* Subdistinctio, *ab eo quod punctum subtus, id est, ad unam literam accipit. Ubi autem in sequentibus jam sententia sensum præstat, sed adhuc aliquid superest de sententiæ plenitudine, fit* colon, *mediamque literam puncto notamus, &* mediam distinctionem *vocamus, quia punctum ad mediam literam ponimus. Ubi vero jam per gradus pronunciando plenam sententiæ clausulam facimus, fit* periodus: *punctumque ad caput literæ ponimus, & vocatur* distinctio, *id est,* disjunctio: *quia integram separat sententiam.* Thus the *Common Editions*. But for *unam* in both Places ought to be read *unam*, as I have found it written in two *MSS.* in the *Bodleian* Library[2]. In another *MS.* in the same *Library*[3] is *punctumque* for *punctusque*. And in all three

1 *De Orig.* lib. I. c. 19. 2 NE. D. 6. 6. & NE. D. 7. 8. See also *Putean de Distinct.* 3 NE. D. 5. 7.

of

of them for the last Words *fuperat ſententiam ſe-*
parat ſententiam.

§. 7. As the moſt *ancient MSS.* ſo alſo the *earlieſt Inſcriptions* were without *Points*. *Lipſius* tells [1] us that all *Monuments* of this Kind that he had ſeen were without *Notes of Diſtinction*; but by *Notes of Diſtinction* here he muſt needs mean ſuch *Notes* as we have mention'd above from *Iſidore*. For 'tis certain that in moſt of the *Latin Inſcriptions* in *Gruter* and others there are *full Points* after every Word, unleſs at the *End* of a *Line* or *Verſe*. Even in all the *Editions* of the *Faſti Capitolini*, we have theſe *Points*; nor are they wanting either in the *Columna Roſtrata* (excepting after the *Numeral Letters* [2]) or in that of *Scipio Barbatus*. Yet I muſt confeſs that the two firſt Words in this latter are confounded in *Simmonds's* Edition [3]; but in other Editions they are diſtinguiſhed with a *Point*, placed againſt the *Middle* of the *Letter*, as all the other *Points* are; which manner of *Placing* is to be ſeen in divers other *Inſcriptions*, and particularly in the *Laws* of the *Bacchanalia*, where however ſometimes they are omitted both in *Fabretti's* and *Grævius's* Edition. I have expreſsly noted in the *Oxford* Edition of *Livy* [4]. The reaſon of putting *Points* after every *Word* was to prevent *Confuſion* [5], a thing, which, for want of ſuch *Diſtinctions*, is often found in *Greek Inſcriptions*, ſuch as the *Chronicon Marmoreum*, and the Covenant between the *Smyrnæans* and *Magneſians*, both preſerv'd at *Oxford*: and Inſtances may likewiſe be ſeen in *Salmaſius's* Edition of *Dedicatio Statuæ Regillæ Herodis*, the two firſt Words whereof (not to mention others) are *confounded*, being ΔΕΥΡΙΤΕ for Δεῦρ' ἴτε. Sometimes

Inſcriptions firſt of all without *Points*. Afterwards for the preparing *Conſtant full Points* put between every Word, unleſs at the *End* of a *Line* of *Verſe*. Sometimes the *Mark* of the *Point* alter'd (as in this *Inſcription*) according to the Pleaſure of the *Cutter*.

1 In his Letter *de Diſtinct.* 2 Vide *T. Livii Hiſt.* Edit. *Oxon.* Vol. VI. p. 205, 206. 3 Oper. Tom. IV. 4 Vide *T. Livii* Edit. *Oxon.* T. VI. p. 207. 5 Vol. VI. p. 237. 6 See *Callarius's Orthogr.* pag. 70.

inſtead

instead of *Points* we have other *Marks* of *Distinction*, which [1] are however to be attributed purely to the *Artists*, who, for *Ornament*, were pleas'd to turn the *Points* into such *Figures*. Such are [,] [2] (being the same with our *modern Comma*) [3], [4], [5], and (to pass by the rest) [6]. Which last agrees with the *Marks* in our *Bathe-Inscription*; only we may observe that after the last *Letters* of the *Inscription* are no *Marks*, because they are placed at such a Distance from one another, as 'tis almost impossible they should be confounded by the *Transcribers* or *Readers*. Yet I do not deny but that in *Gruter* oftentimes we have *Points* after the *Letters*, tho' plac'd at a great Distance from one another; but I much doubt whether they are *really* so in the *Stones* themselves. As for what else concerns this *valuable Inscription* I refer you to an *accurate Discourse* written upon it in *Latin* by the Learned Mr. *DODWELL*, (as he has inform'd me by a Letter), which I believe he will publish in a short time. He took occasion to write down his *Thoughts* about it from a *Letter* which I writ to the Reverend and Learned Mr. *FRANCIS BROKESBY*, to whom I likewise sent a *Copy* of the *Inscription*.

---

1 See *Cellarius* ibid. p. 71. 2 *Grut.* CCCXXXIX. 3. 3 Ibid. CCCCXCIII. 3. 4 Ibid. DXC. 5. 5 Ibid. DXCI. 7. 6 *Grut.* DXCIII. 5.

FINIS.

INDEX

A.

Accius 229.
Ælfred born at Wantage 236. sent to Rome 37. anointed King in his Infancy 39. his Unction truly regal 20. carried the second time to Rome 23. active and powerful 29. but addicted to Literature ibid. his Heat and Rashness 42. succeeds Æthelred in the Kingdom of West-Saxons 44. raiseth an Army 45. is overthrown at Wilton, and conditioneth with the Danes ibid. compoundeth for their Departure 48. conceals himself 54. his exceeding Charity 58. his Dream 59. like an Harper enters the Danes Camp 63. encourageth the Saxons 64. giveth Laws to the Danes 67. encreaseth his Shipping 71. pursues the Guard of the Coast 73. sets upon the new and unsubjected Danes ibid. rebuilds his wasted Towns 75. fortifies his Borders 76. orders his Levies of Men ibid. attends the Danish Army 80. relieves Exeter 83. sets a Guard upon the Danes 87. and moors their Ships 88. a most absolute Monarch 95. he maketh Laws 96. seeketh those that are most equal ibid. most of his Collections of that Kind lost 98. those that are extant are merciful 101. whether K. Ælfred first divided England into Shires? 110. he applies his Endeavours to the Reclaiming of the People 124. an Excellent Poet ibid. a MS. Collection of his Precepts and Instructions 125. but 'twas compiled by some later hand ibid. a Specimen of it 127. his Proverbs 128. a Fragment of them publish'd by Dr. Hickes ibid. he seeketh to restore Learning 132. King Ælfred, Wulfsig, Ethelstan, Werefert, Werewulf, St. Neotus, and others, take great pains in instructing those that were illiterate 139. and in translating Books 140. he foundeth Schools 143. and an University at Oxford 144. 317. this was in the year 873, as is express'd in a MS. of Archbishop Laud's not about the year 890, as a MS. Paper would have it in University-College Treasury 146. he ordereth his Military Discipline 147. and ordaineth a standing Navy for Mastery of the Seas 150. advanceth Navigation 152. improveth Manufactures 156. his Counsel of two sorts ibid viz. 1. the Great Council of the Kingdom ibid. 2. the Privy-Council 157. he adorns and beautifies the Kingdom 159. repairs and builds Cities 161. Forts and Castles built by him 163. Monasteries and Religious Houses 164. as Æthelingey 165. Shaftsbury 169. and the new Monastery at Winchester ibid. he began the Foundation of Hyde-Abbey 168. an universal Benefactor ibid. a Grant of his to the Church of Worcester in London 170. the Controversy about

about his Founding the University of *Oxford* examin'd 171. His Exhibitions to the Schools founded by him continued to the *Norman* Conquest 196. he builds and repairs the King's Palaces 197. as also the Palms and Mannour-Houses *ibid.* exact in ordering his Works 198. the ordering his Houshold *ibid.* provides himself of Musicians 199. of Falconers, Huntsmen, &c. *ibid.* of Artizans, Jewellers, &c. 200. confers the Order of Knighthood 201. his Devotion 202. his Regularity in his Devotion 203. his Poverty and Alms 204. his Strictness in Religious Offices *ibid.* his private Life 209. the first Specimen of his Inclination to Learning *ibid.* his Progress in Learning answerable to the Beginning 210. Books compos'd and translated by him *ibid.* the year when he compos'd his Books gather'd from a MS. *ibid.* a fair Copy of his Translation of *Orosius* in the *Bodlejan* Library 212. some say he was not Author of that Translation *ibid.* his Translation of *Beda* publish'd by Mr. *Wheloc* 211. his Translation of *Boëtius* publish'd by Mr. *Christopher Rawlinson* ibid. some say *Werefrith* Bishop of *Worcester* was Author of it *ibid.* others that 'twas done by *Asser Men.* 212. *Ælfred* made this Translation at *Woodstock*, according to a MS. in the *Cottonian* Library *ibid.* his Translation of the Psalter publish'd by Sir *John Spelman* ibid. There was a Translation of it before *Ælfred's* time *ibid.* he Translated *Æsop's* Fables into *Latin* and *Saxon*, tho' not mention'd in the common Accounts of his Works *ibid.* 'tis doubtful whether the whole Bible was Translated by him 213. his Translation of several Parts of the Bible, with his Translation of *Gregory's* Pastoral, preserv'd in Cathedral Churches 'till about the time of the Reformation *ibid.* amongst other Things he writ a History, in Imitation of *Julius Cæsar* 214. his Temper *ibid.* of most consummate Virtue 215. his esteem abroad *ibid.* his Death 216. how long he reign'd *ibid.* where buried 216, 217. his Bones with others of our *English* Kings put into Chests of Lead by Bishop *Fox* 217. but afterwards scatter'd by the Rebels *ibid.* Testimonies of his Life and Actions *ibid.* Epigram upon him *ibid.* he design'd to be Canonis'd for a Saint 219. whether he was in all things conformable to the See of *Rome*? *ibid.* his Wife and Children 222. *See* Hyde Abbey: *see* Wilton: *see* Talbot.

Ælfric Archbishop of *York* translated Part of the bible into *Saxon* 213. the occasion of it *ib.*

Ælfrith, or *Æthelswith*, 222.

Ælfwith 222. *see* Winchester.

Æsop's Fables translated into *Latin* and *Saxon* by King *Ælfred* 212.

Æthelbald conspires 27. succeeds *Æthelwolf* 28.

Æthelbert 28.

Æthelfleda 222.

Æthelgyva 222.

Æthelingey, the Monastery there founded by K. *Ælfred* 165.

Æthelred 28. his Preparation against the *Danes* 41. his Devotion *ibid.* and Success 42. he dyeth 43.

Æthelstan Knighted by King *Alfred* 201.
Æthelstan Bishop of *London* 138. *see* Ælfred.
Æthelswith: see *Ælfrith*.
Æthelward 222.
Æthelwolf 15. his Children 16. gives the tenth Part of all his Kingdom unto the Church 21. That Grant considered 21, 22. takes to Wife *Judith*, Daughter of *Charles the Bald* 23, 24. his Return from *Rome* 27. his Death *ibid.*
Alburg (St.) see *Wilton*.
Aldermen of the Shires 114.
Aldhelmus Bishop of *Shirburn*, his Version of the Psalter 212. an Epistle of his publish'd by Mr. *Wharton* ibid.
Anointing of Kings in *England* before K. *Ælfred's* time 17, 18.
Antoninus's Itinerary corrected 78.
Asser Menevensis 136. his Annals publish'd by Dr. *Gale* 52, 136. an Addition at the End of them made by another Hand 136. in which there is a Mistake *ibid.* a Reading in him defended 163. a Passage in him of Mr. *Camden's* Edition prov'd to be genuine 178. he is confounded by some with *Asser* Bishop of *Shirburn* 136. see *Ælfred*.
Athelney: see *Æthelingey*.

B.

Barbaricarii who 232.
Baths, a *Roman Fabrica* there 232. which was supply'd with Iron as well as Coals from the Neighbouring Countries 234. Yet never any Veins of Iron in the Hills round *Bath* ibid.
Bayard-Castle 80.
Bede explain'd 178, 179. that Passage compar'd with 9 or 10 *Oxford* MSS. 179. a new Edition of him design'd by a certain Divine 211.
Bellon 80.
Beddington: see *Bustington*.
Beston of *Bury*, a Passage out of him 213.
Britains: see *Difference*.
Brokesby Mr. 238.
Burred expell'd *Mercia* 47.
Burton: see *Speed*.
Bustington, or *Beddington*, 85.

C.

Cambridge University founded since *Oxford* 178. Some pitch upon *Cantaber*, others upon *Sigebert*, for Founder 192. yet both equally in the wrong *ibid.*
Camden vindicated 177.
Charlett Dr. a Copy of *Florence* of *Worcester* of the 4to. Edition in his Hands with MSS. Notes by Dr. *Langbain* 212.
Chrism what 66.
Christians in *Britain* persecuted severely 4.
Common-Law, it's Original 107.
Confirmation, the Ceremony of it 19, 20.
Council: The Great-Council of the Kingdom in K. *Ælfred's* time 156. the Privy-Council 157. Original of the constant Use of the Solemn Councils now call'd Parliaments *ibid.*
Counties, the Original of them 7.
County-Courts: see Hundred-Courts.

D.

Danes arrive in great Numbers in *East-Anglia* 30, 31. they surprise *York* 32. return to *York* 34. thence go into *East-Anglia* 35. take *Reading* 40. they are besieg'd *ibid.* force their Besiegers,

fiegers, and come to *Asbdenne* 41. they are overthrown 42. come to *London* 46. thence to *Torksey* ibid. thence to *Repton* 47. and expel *Burthred* ibid. surprise *Wareham* 48. their Solemn Oath *ibid.* Perjury 49. they surprise *Exeter* ibid. many Conflicts with them 50. they surprise *Chippenham* 53. their Standard taken 61. they are overthrown 65. besieged *ibid.* submit *ibid.* remove to *Chichester* 70. a new Arrival of them *ibid.* and Return *ibid.* they return out of *France* 72. attempt *Rochester* ibid. leave their Booty and return *ibid.* 330 Sail of *Danes* from *France* 78. 80. Patrones *ibid.* The *Danes* rebel 79. rise and forrage *Kent* 81. part intercepted at *Farnham ibid.* the Inland *Danes* enter the West-Country 82. the *Danes* at *Shobury* forrage 85. besieged at *Buttington* ib. and overthrown 86. surprise *Leycester* ibid. and relinquish it 87. come to *Hertford* ibid. are in vain assailed by the *Londoners* ibid. disband 89. the last Remainder of them exercise Piracy *ibid.* but without Success 90.

Decenharies and Leets, the Benefit of them 117. fit for Plantations 118.

Difference between the *Britains* and *Saxons*, the Occasion of it 61.

Disabling of Persons excommunicate, the Original of it 107.

Dodwell 5, 238.

Dome-boc 114.

Domes-day Book, it's Original 115.

Douglas's Translation of *Virgil* corrected 61.

Dunstanlph 138. not Doctor of Div. *ibid.* now Bp. of *Winchester* ib.

E.

East-Anglia and *Northumberland* assign'd to the *Danes* 66.

Eddington, the Battle there 65.

Edmund (King) slain 39.

Edward the Elder 222. see *Hyde-Abbey*.

Ethelingey: see *Æthelingey*.

F.

Fabrica: at least one *Roman Fabrica* or Forge in *Britain*, which perhaps was plac'd at *Bathe* 232. and was supply'd with Iron as well as Coals from the Neighbouring Countries 234.

Fabricenses, *Fabricienses*, or *Fabrigenses* 228. the Office of the *Fabricenses* 231. they were different from the *Barbaricarii* ibid.

Fleetwood Bishop 5.

Florence of *Worcester*: see *Chronicon*.

Foss-Way in all Probability pass'd by *Walcote* near *Bathe* 227.

Fountaine: Sr. *Andrew* 26. one of his Coyns illustrated 61, 62. from one of the Coyns publish'd by him 'tis conjectured that King *Elfred the Great* either repair'd or enlarg'd the City of *Norwich* 164.

Fox Bishop: see *Elfred*. *Fox* Mr. 214.

G.

Gale: see *Asser*.

Gibson Dr. 85, 89.

Glass by whom first brought into *England* 206.

Glastenbury Abbey, King *Elfred* a Benefactor to it 169.

Godwin (Bishop) mistaken 138.

Gregory's Pastoral, the Preface of it 141.

Grimbald 135. the Heads of a Speech made by him in a Synod

od at *London* extant *ibid.*
Guthred 90.
Guthrum and the *Danes* baptized 66. the Agreement between him and K. *Ælfred* 67. he enters *East-Anglia* 70.

H.

Halley Mr. 226, 228.
Halls in the University of *Oxford* founded by K. *Ælfred* 195. besides which others were soon after founded by divers of the Nobility *ibid.*
Hardyng's (John) Chronicle corrected from a MS. in the *Bodlejan* Library 8, 96, 97, 149. [The said MS. is in Mr. *Selden's Archives*, B. 26. 'Tis neatly written, and illuminated; is cover'd with Velvet, and imboss'd. On the right side, and on the Back is fix'd this Title: The Cronicles of Inglande in Inglysthe writtyn bullet wyse on Perchemente. It formerly belong'd to the Earls of *Northumberland*, and seems to have been written when the Author liv'd. 'Tis in several things very different from the Printed Edition, and supplies some Places. Amongst other things the Title of K. *Edw.* III. to the Crown of *France* is here inserted in a Genealogical Table, which is quite omitted in the Print, tho' the Words in the MS. are express'd so as to make *Hardyng* himself the Author of it. The Description also of *Scotland* is not in Verse but Prose, and there is added a Map for Illustration. At the End of the Book are *John Lydgate's* Proverbes upon the Fall of Princes, written in a different Hand; which I take to have been the very Copy that *W. de Worde* printed his Edition of them by. For at the Close we have this Note: Here endethe the Proverbes of Lydgate upon the Fall of princes. Emprynted at london in fletestreet at the Sygne of the Sonne by Wynkyn Worde. unless we will rather suppose that 'twas transcrib'd from his Edition; but I incline to the first Opinion.]
Harold (King) depriv'd, according to some Authors, *Ælfred's* Schools of their Revenue 197.
Hastings 82. enters *France* 71. entrench'd at *Bemfleet* ibid. forrageth *Mercia* ibid. his Wife and Sons Prisoners 84. upon new Caution they are set at Liberty *ibid.*
Heptarchy of the *Saxons*, the Decline of it 15.
Hickes Dr. 26. see *Ælfred.*
Hubba overthrown 60.
Hubbelowe 60.
Hudson Dr. 97, 146.
Hundred-Courts, County-Courts, and Leets, their Original 116.
Hundreds: *see* Shires.
Hyde-Abbey began by K. *Ælfred* 168. but perfected by his Son *Edward the Elder* ibid.

I.

Imperial-Crown not us'd in *England* 'till the time of *Edward the Confessor* 200.
Inscription upon K. *Æthelred* 43. an Inscription lately found at *Walcote* near *Bathe* 226. Observations upon it 227, &c. Inscriptions first of all without Points 237. Afterwards, for preventing Confusion, full

Points put between every Word, unleſs at the End of a Line or Verſe *ibid.* Sometimes the Mark of the Point alter'd (as in the ſaid *Bathe* Inſcription) according to the Pleaſure of the Cutter *ibid.*

Joannes Scotus Erigena 133. an Account of his Works *ibid.*

John of St. *David's* 136.

Joſſelin John 213.

Iſidore corrected 236.

Julius Vitalis, Fabricenſis of the XX. Legion ſtyl'd *Valens Victrix* 228.

K.

Kemſley-Caſtle, and *Kemſley*-Down, 79.

Kennet Dr. 41, 43, 115.

L.

Langbain Dr. ſee *Charlett.*

Lanthorns their Original 206.

Laws of *Ælfred* whence taken 96.

Leets: *ſee* Decennaries: *ſee* Hundred-Courts.

Legion: ſee *Julius.*

Leland 218. corrected 137. he ſeems to be miſtaken 212. ſee *Ælfred.*

Leyceſter ſurpriſed by the *Danes* 86. and relinquiſhed 87.

Limene; ſee *Rowther.*

Lodebroch 38.

Lowes, an Account of them 61.

M.

Malmsbury (William of) an Inſcription out of him 161. the ſame collated with an *Oxford* MS. 162.

Mortality: *ſee* Saxons.

N.

Neotus St. 138. ſee *Ælfred.*

O.

Othher's Voyage to diſcover a North-Eaſt Paſſage 153.

Officers: Proviſion for able Officers 118.

Oxford Univerſity founded 144. King *Ælfred* deny'd to be the firſt Founder of it 171. that Controverſy examin'd 172. *Oxford* Univerſity older than *Cambridge* 177. a Univerſity there before the time of K. *Ælfred* 144. the manner of the Foundation of the Univerſity there 195. the firſt Profeſſors *ibid.* it's Endowment *ibid.* ſee *Ælfred.*

P.

Parliaments their Original 157.

Peter's (St) *Church in the Eaſt, Oxford*, by whom founded 177, 184.

Plegmond 137.

Plot Dr. 43.

Pointing, the ancient Way of it 235. *ſee* Inſcription.

Pope of *Rome*, his Incroachment in claiming a Superiority over *Chriſtian* Princes 103.

Q.

Quarter-Wayters their Original 199.

Quatbridge 88.

Quatford 88.

R.

Raven, the *Daniſh* Standard taken 61.

Reading: ſee *Danes.*

Reclaiming of the People, inward means for it ſought 120.

Robert of Gloceſter, a Fragment of him 4.

Rollo 50.

Roll-rich Stones 31.
Rother: see *Rowther*.
Rowther, or *Rother*, the River 78. call'd in several ancient Writings *Limene* ibid.

S.

Saxons us'd a great deal of Art in their Wars 2. overthrown at *Basing* and at *Merden* 43. fly or revolt 53. assembled 64. come to *Æthandune* ibid. a sore Mortality among them 89. *see* Difference.
Scotus: see *Joannes*.
Seafford: see *Sifford*.
Shafisbury, a Nunnery there founded by K. *Ælfred* 167. Not by *Elfgina* (as specified in Mr. *Leland's* Coll.) Wife of *Edmund*, his Great-Grand-son *ibid.*
Shifford: see *Sifford*.
Shires, Hundreds, and Tythings, their Original 108. see *Ælfred*.
Sifford, (or *Seafford*, now call'd *Shifford*) in *Oxford*-shire, a Place of great Note in K. *Ælfred's* time 126. a Council there *ibid.* and 158.
Sittingburne, whence so called 79.
Somner, a Transcript in him corrected 169.
Smith Dr. 24, 25.
Speed not the Author of the Catalogue of Religious Houses in his Chron. but Mr. *Burton* the *Leycester*-shire Antiquary 168.
Spelman (Sir *John*) Author of two other Excellent Discourses, besides his History of *Ælfred the Great* 225. see *Ælfred*.
Stours, the River 74.
Stradwatons 48.
Sureties for the good Behaviour, their Original 106.
Swanawic 52.
Swearing, the manner of it amongst the *Danes* 48.

T.

Tacitus explain'd 10.
Talbot Dr. a good MS. of *Ælfred's* Translation of *Orosius* in his Hands 211.
Thwaites's (Mr. *Edw.*) Conjecture upon a Coyn publish'd by Sir *Andrew Fountaine* 164.
Trihings 108.
Tryal by Peers, and by a Jury of 12 Men, it's Original 106.
Tully corrected 229.
Tyrrell Mr. 5, 17, 213.
Tythes and the Rights of the Church settled by K. *Ælfred* 99.
Tythings: *see* Hundreds.

V.

Vitalis: see *Julius*.
Under-Sheriffs their Original 113.
Universities: the Controversy between the two Universities 191.
Vouchers upon Sale of Horses, *&c.* their Original 106.
Usher Archbishop 18.

W.

Walcote near *Bathe* perhaps a Place of Note in the time of the *Romans* 227. see *Foss-Way*: see *Inscription*.
Walker Obadiah 225, 226.
Wantage: see *Ælfred*.
Wase Christopher 225.
Weadmore, or *Wedmor*, 66.
Wedmor: see *Weadmore*.
Welch subject themselves to King *Ælfred* 91.
Werebert 138. see *Ælfred*.
Werefrith: see *Ælfred*.
Werefrid Bishop of *Worcester* 137.
Werewolf 138. see *Ælfred*.

Weſtminſter (*Matth.*) miſtaken 138.
Weſt-Saxons their Power 15. they had no Queen 24.
Wharton 137, 138, 213. ſee *Aldhelmus*.
Whelock: ſee *Ælfred*.
Wife of the *Weſt-Saxon* Kings neither crowned nor ſtyled Queen 24. and why? *ibid.* Yet that Cuſtom broke by *Æbelwolf* ibid. but in the times of his Succeſſors reſpect was often had unto it 24, 25, 26.
William the Conqueror withdrawi the Exhibitions made to *Æ fred's* Schools at *Oxford* 196.
Wilton the Battle there 45. *Wil ton* Abbey founded by St. *A burg* 170. a Benefaction mad to it by K. *Ælfred* ibid.
Winchester, the *New-Monaſter* there founded by King *Ælfre* 167. others ſay his Wife *Ælf with* was Foundreſs *ibid.*
Worceſter: ſee *Ælfred*
Writs their Original 114.
Wulfig 138. ſee *Ælfred.*

ADDENDA

ADDENDA & EMENDANDA.

PAg. 8. l. 10. in Notis, **defaulte** & mox **pees** in MS. Ib. l. 11. **comon profite** MS. **profite** etiam in lin. prox. Ib. l. 13. **als comonly was** MS. Ib. l. antepen. **adboultry mooſt**, omiſſo **was**, MS. Ib. l. penult. **Among t. w. comon** MS. Ib. l. ult. **robry, oppreſſioun, night and day.** MS. P. 26. l. 16. in Not. *us'd by ſome*] This Opinion, which I receiv'd from Mr. *Selden*, as I did divers other things here ſpecify'd (as may appear from the Quotation) is excellently well confuted by the Learned Dr. *HICKES* in his *Diſſertatio Epiſtolaris de Antiquæ Litteraturæ Septentrionalis Utilitate*, p. 152. In which Diſcourſe are alſo divers very curious and judicious Obſervations, which ought to be conſulted for a better Knowledge of the Charters here cited. P. 64. l. penult. in Not. read *Chron.* P. 102. l. ult. in Not. for *autographo* read *MS.* P. 176. l. 5. read *Camden.* P. 230. l. 11. for φήσιος read φήσις.